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THE PROBLEM OF  
THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.<sup>1</sup>

By T. W. MANSON, D.LITT., D.D., F.B.A.

RYLANDS PROFESSOR OF BIBLICAL CRITICISM AND EXEGESIS IN THE  
UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

THE Epistle appears in our Bibles with the superscription, 'The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews' (A.V. and R.V.). I propose to substitute for this,

'The Epistle of Apollos to the Churches of the Lycus Valley'. The original heading is a guess and so is this, but I hope to show that a number of converging lines of argument make it a fairly probable guess. I take first the external evidence; but before doing that we must ask whether letter is the correct name for the document.

Hebrews has no epistolary beginning (just as the Epistle of James has no ending); but it has an ending which, if genuine, shows that it is a letter and not a sermon. The words, 'I exhort you the more exceedingly to do this, that I may be restored to you the sooner' (xiii. 19), show that the author is not present with the recipients of his message.

Further there are indications within the letter that it is not a 'general epistle' addressed to the Church at large. The writer has in view a definite group; this is clear from such passages as xiii. 18 f.; x. 32-34; vi. 10; v. 11-vi. 8, all of which point to a community known intimately, and over a period of time, to the author; one, moreover, in which he has a lively and personal interest.

It is the more curious that there is no introductory matter, and

<sup>1</sup> An amplification of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, on Wednesday, the 19th of January, 1949.

the possibility must be kept in mind that this has been lost. Such loss might be due to accident or design. Against accident is the fact that the letter seems to begin at the beginning of its argument ; and it seems unlikely that accidental mutilation would have made the cut so neatly. It is possible that the address was suppressed. If it was, there was presumably some reason why. But we have no means of knowing or even making a guess.

The current title, *πρὸς Ἑβραίους*, is not the address : most probably it is a guess. But it must have been made at an early stage since the Epistle is known under this title in all MSS. and versions, and to the Alexandrian school and Tertullian. This means that the title was in use by the end of the second century. The name 'Hebrews' would mean one thing in Palestine and another outside. As the addressees are Christians, it would mean, if the document was sent to Palestine, Aramaic-speaking Jewish Christians, natives of the land as opposed to Greek-speaking 'Hellenists', i.e. Christian Jews of the Diaspora. If sent to a community outside Palestine it would naturally mean Christians of Jewish extraction whether Aramaic- or Greek-speaking. Early Fathers mostly preferred the former alternative ; but the latter possibility cannot therefore be excluded. There is no guarantee that the originator of the title held the patristic view ; nor are we bound to follow blindly. Indeed there is nothing to show that the originator of the title did anything but what we must do—make more or less probable inferences from the contents of the Epistle itself.

In Alexandria, so far as we can get back, Hebrews was regarded as an Epistle of Paul. It was certainly so regarded by Clement of Alexandria (Eus., *H.E.*, vi. 14. 2 ff.) and probably also by his teacher Pantaenus (Zahn., *Einkl.*, ii. 122 f.). The problem for the Alexandrians was to account for the difference in style between Hebrews and the accepted Pauline Epistles. This was done by supposing, for example, that Paul wrote it in Hebrew or Aramaic and that Luke translated it into Greek. Origen was more fully aware of the difficulty and while he tries to defend the tradition of his own church, he cannot conceal the fact that he is dubious about the Pauline authorship (Eus., *H.E.*, vi. 25. 11-14). He



suggests that the thoughts are Paul's and the expression of them due to a scholar of the Apostles. He thus tacitly abandons Clement's translation theory. He also mentions Clement of Rome and Luke as supposed authors.

On the other hand, whatever may have been the doubts and hesitations of the Christian scholars of Alexandria, there is no doubt that Hebrews was accepted as Pauline in the Egyptian Church and included among the letters to Churches from a very early date. The position of Hebrews in the Canon of the New Testament has been the subject of an elaborate and detailed study by Professor W. H. P. Hatch in the *Harvard Theological Review* (xxix (1936) 133-151) from which it appears that there are three different positions for the Epistle: (i) among the letters to Churches; (ii) after II Thess., i.e. at the end of the letters to Churches; (iii) after Philemon, i.e. at the end of the Pauline corpus. It is of interest to consider the witnesses to these different positions; and we may begin with the third position, after Philemon. It is fairly obvious that in this case Hebrews has been added as an afterthought to a collection already closed; and it is significant that the most important witnesses to this order come from the West (D f and the Latin Vulgate. The Syriac versions, pesh. and hcl., also have this order; but, as Hatch points out, in Syria it replaced an earlier arrangement in which Hebrews followed Romans). Now we know independently that it was in the West that the resistance to accepting Hebrews as Pauline was most determined and prolonged. We should therefore be inclined to suppose that our third position originated in the West and spread from there to Antioch and so to the Syriac-speaking Churches. The second position, after II Thess., has as its leading witnesses the principal authorities for the so-called 'Neutral' or Alexandrian text (κ ABC, Athanasius, Cyril of Alexandria, etc.). Hatch thinks that this arrangement originated in Alexandria when the revision which produced the B κ text took place, probably early in the fourth century.

Older than either of these arrangements is the first order, in which Hebrews is placed among the letters to Churches. The exact position varies: it is after Romans in the Chester Beatty Codex (P<sup>46</sup>), the oldest known MS. of the Pauline corpus, and in

the Syrian Canon of about A.D. 400 ; it is after II Corinthians in the MSS. of the Sahidic version and in the Sahidic translation of the 39th Festal Letter of Athanasius, where Athanasius' order as given in the Greek has been altered to agree with the Sahidic Canon ; it was after Galatians in the archetype of B. The important point here is that the leading witnesses for a place among the major Pauline letters are Egyptian. The evidence of the MSS., versions, and early Fathers all points to the conclusion that full recognition of Hebrews begins in Egypt and spreads from there to Syria and eventually to the West. The earliest Syriac evidence agrees with the Old Egyptian in classing Hebrews with the major Pauline Epistles.

(1) W. Bauer (*Der Apostolos der Syrer*, p. 28) accepts Zahn's demonstration that the original order of books in Ephrem's († 373) commentary on the Paulines was Gal. I and II Cor. Rom. Heb. (Zahn, *NKZ.* xi (1900), 798 f.).

(2) The Syriac Stichometry (Lewis, *Studia Sinaitica.* i. pp. 11-13).

(3) Theodore of Mopsuestia († 428) appears to have had a similar order (*Comm.* on Gal. iv. 24 (Swete I., p. 76) and preface to Philemon, quoted in Swete's note *ibid.*). On Gal. iv. 24 he says 'et hoc in epistola illa quae ad Hebraeos est interpretantes ostendimus eidentius'. In the preface to Philemon he mentions, 'Epistolae quae ad Rom. et Cor. et Hebraeos.' Theodore's order seems to have been Rom. I and II Cor. Heb. Gal.

(It may be noted that here the position of Heb. is fixed—after II Cor. It is Gal. that is the variable factor. In Ephrem and the Stichometry it stands first in the group of five Epistles ; in Theodore it stands last.)

The Syrian Church entertained no doubt about the Pauline authorship of Hebrews. It is cited as Paul's by Ephrem († 373), Rabbula († 435), Titus of Bostra († c. 375), Apollinarius († c. 390), Diodorus of Tarsus († c. 394), Chrysostom († 407), Theodore of Mopsuestia († 428), Nestorius († c. 440), Theodoret († 458). Proofs are given by Bauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 ff.

On the other side in the Churches of the West the Epistle was well known from an early date ; it is quoted in I. Clem. But, up to the middle of the fourth century it was not accepted as Pauline



or included in the N.T. canon. Irenaeus<sup>1</sup> and Hippolytus<sup>2</sup> do not seem to have any tradition as to its author.

Tertullian (c. 220) and the author of a treatise wrongly attributed to Origen<sup>3</sup> ascribe Hebrews to Barnabas the apostle.

The result is that between 180-260 there were three prevailing views: (1) Paul (Alexandria), (2) Barnabas (Tert.), (3) An unknown author (Iren. Hipp.). Zahn argues that (3) is the common root of (1) and (2)—in other words that (1) and (2) are guesses: and that the author was really not given in any reliable tradition. Zahn himself adopts (2).

After the middle of the fourth century the Alexandrian—now the Greek—tradition broke down the Western attitude and led to the recognition everywhere of Hebrews as Pauline and a genuine part of the N.T. This is a triumph of Alexandrian guesswork, for the Epistle is surely not by Paul. We must reject the Alexandrian guess, and make a better if we can. In framing our hypothesis we shall have to depend very largely on the evidence supplied by the document itself; and I hope to show that this internal evidence gives reliable indications of the date of the document, of its probable purpose, and of a possible author and destination.

1. *Date.* We have a reasonably well fixed terminus ad quem in the fact that the Epistle is quoted in *I. Clem.* (c. A.D. 96).

On the assumption that the personalia at the end are part of the original document, we can push the date still further back. The statement in xiii. 23 implies that Timothy is still in active missionary work and capable of travelling in the interests of the Gospel. Now Timothy was probably born about A.D. 20-25, so that when *I Clem.* was written he would be, if still alive, about 70-76 years old, a somewhat advanced age for active missionary

<sup>1</sup> On Iren. see C. H. Turner in *N.T.S. Iren.*, 226 f. It seems certain that Irenaeus neither ascribed the Epistle to Paul nor reckoned it in the N.T. canon.

<sup>2</sup> On Hippol. see R. H. Connolly in *JTS*, xlv. 198 f. That Hippolytus denied the Pauline authorship is expressly stated by Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 121. Gaius also rejected the Pauline authorship. See Eus., *H.E.*, vi. 20, who says that even in his (Eusebius') day some Romans denied Heb. to Paul.

<sup>3</sup> This work entitled *Tractatus Origenis de libris SS. Script.*, was published by Batiffol in 1900. It is certainly not by Origen. By some authorities it has been assigned to Novatian or one of his followers. See Zahn, *Einkl.*<sup>3</sup>, ii. 118 f., 124; Moffatt, *Introd.*<sup>3</sup>, 437 f.

work. We may, therefore, on the strength of Heb. xiii. 23 push the date back to about 80-85. As we do not know when Timothy died we cannot make any more progress along this line.

We have also a fixed terminus a quo, if we can show, as I think we can, that the author of Hebrews was acquainted with Romans. This would give a date about 55 as the earliest possible.

We are thus left with a period 55-85 as that within which the Epistle must most probably fall. Can we narrow these limits any further? I think that we can if we look carefully at the argument of the Epistle as a whole and particularly at the part of it which is developed in chapters v-x.

#### THE ARGUMENT OF THE EPISTLE.

The theme of the Epistle is set out in the opening words. It is an interpretation of the history of Israel in terms of God's purpose, now fully and finally realised in Jesus Christ. For this purpose it is of course assumed that the Church is continuous with the old Israel of the O.T.—a position which the writer shares with St. Paul. In Christ there has been a divine intervention in the fullest sense. The creative, sustaining, and redeeming activity of God has been manifested to the world in the person of Jesus crucified and exalted, and now supreme over every power in the universe (i. 1-4). This supremacy the author now proceeds to demonstrate.

A. *Jesus is superior to the Angels* (i. 5-14). The proof is obtained by taking texts from the O.T. and interpreting them in a Messianic sense, at the same time comparing them with texts referring to angels. It is argued that these groups of texts show that the angels are lower in status than the Messianic Son. Their functions are of an interim, preparatory, and subordinate character (v. 14). In particular they proclaimed the Law which is inferior to the Gospel (ii. 1-4). Furthermore, their authority does not extend into the coming order of existence (τὴν οἰκουμένην τὴν μέλλουσαν = עולם הבא), where, as may be again shown from Scripture, Christ is supreme (ii. 5-8a). It is true that this supremacy is not yet very obvious; but that is part of the divine plan. The humiliation and suffering of Jesus are there in order that he may carry through his redemptive work (ii. 8b-18).



*B. Jesus is superior to the great historic leaders of Israel.* He is superior to Moses. Proof from Scripture. Moses was a faithful servant. Jesus is the Son (iii. 1-6). Moreover, if we look at the O.T. history, we can see how Jesus is superior to other heroes besides Moses—Joshua and David for example. For the perfect state called in the Bible 'Rest' is a reality from the beginning. It is offered by God to his people. Yet scripture shows that Moses was not able to bring the people into it because of their unbelief, which he could not overcome (iii. 7-19). And it is clear that Joshua succeeded no better, for the promise is still unfulfilled and the invitation still open in the time of David (iv. 1-13). But what they could not achieve has been achieved by Jesus the Son of God, and so made possible for us (iv. 14-16).

This achievement of opening a way of access to God through humiliation and suffering is best understood if we think of Jesus as our great High-priest. That is to say, for our author the supreme good, which is groped after in the O.T. and found in Christianity, is essentially a religious good; and its achievement depends not on bringing it into existence—as though it were not already there where God is—but in removing those obstacles—*ἀπειθεία, ἁμαρτία*, etc.—which hinder men from 'entering into the Rest'. The messianic task is one of atonement—making men at one with God, and therefore the messianic office is priestly. The delineation of Jesus as the supreme High-priest thus occupies the central place in the argument (chaps. v-x). The main thesis is that in this high-priestly office,

*C. Jesus is superior to the High-priests of Judaism* in the nature of his office, in himself, and in the effectiveness of his ministration.

- (1) The nature of the office. Called by God from among men to act on behalf of them in divine things (v. 1-10). Thus Aaron was called (v. 4) and thus Christ. The proof that the Christ is called to the high-priestly office is Ps. cx. 4. 'Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek.' Jesus in the days of his flesh acted in this office and by his own self-sacrifice became the *αἴτιος σωτηρίας αἰωνίου*. (Here the author inserts a long piece of exhortation (v. 11-vi. 12) suggesting that if they find his argument

unintelligible, the fault is in themselves, and calling them to new zeal and consecration.)

- (a) This Melchizedek priesthood is connected with another firm promise of God, that to Abraham. (The two hang together and as Paul worked out the one in Galatians so our author will work out the other.) (vi. 13-20.)
- (i) This Melchizedek was contemporary with Abraham and acted as priest for him receiving tithes. He was no ordinary priest but the description in Genesis shows him to have been the prototype of the perfect High-priest to come (vii. 1-3).
- (ii) Abraham recognised his superiority ( $\alpha$ ) by paying tithes to him, ( $\beta$ ) by accepting his blessing (vii. 4-8).
- (iii) In a sense the unborn Levi was subordinate to Melchizedek when Abraham paid the tithes (vii. 9 f.).
- (b) The levitical priesthood on the other hand is connected with the Mosaic Law. They fail and fall together (vii. 11-25).
- (i) If the levitical priesthood were effective what need for the Melchizedek priesthood? With the levitical priesthood goes the Law also (vii. 11 f.).
- (ii) The Law prescribed priests from Levi: Jesus sprang from Judah. So the Law is abrogated (vii. 13-17).
- (iii) And this because the Law had proved weak and ineffective (vii. 18 f.).
- (iv) The true priesthood is confirmed by divine oath. The levitical priesthood lacks this (vii. 20-22).
- (v) The levitical priesthood constantly changes hands. The Melchizedekian priest is 'for ever' (vii. 23-25).
- (2) *Character.* The Law contemplates a high-priest who knows sin. The true high-priest is sinless (vii. 26-28).
- (3) *Effectiveness of ministration.*
  - (a) The two priesthoods are connected with the two covenants, the old covenant of Sinai and the new covenant spoken of by Jeremiah (ch. viii.).
  - (i) The old covenant had its order of worship and its outward furniture of devotion. But all this was merely an earthly copy of the real spiritual thing



as is proved by Moses' being shown the pattern of the Tabernacle when he was on Mt. Sinai (viii. 1-5).

- (ii) Christ introduces a better form of worship corresponding to the new covenant (viii. 6-12).
- (iii) The fact of the new covenant shows that the old is obsolete (viii. 13).
- (b) The purpose of both priesthoods is the same—to make atonement (chs. ix, x.).
- (i) Hence the culminating point in the old ritual was the annual service of the Day of Atonement. But the very nature of the service showed its insufficiency. Only the High-priest had access to the Holy of Holies. And the ritual had to be constantly repeated. The worshippers were not perfected by the worship, which merely pointed the way to what should one day supersede it (ix. 1-10). Now Christ has come with a better ritual, the sacrifice of himself; and has opened the way into the true Holy of Holies—heaven itself, the very presence of God—for those who by him are cleansed from all the defilement that separates them from God and unfits them to enter into his presence (ix. 11-14).
- (ii) He is thus the mediator of the new and better covenant (as Moses was of the old). By his death he has delivered men from the transgressions of the old so that they can now receive the promise as heirs of an eternal heritage (ix. 15).
- (iii) As a sacrifice was necessary under the old regime, so also under the new (ix. 16-22). But whereas the old sacrifice had to be repeated, Christ's one sacrifice is sufficient (ix. 23-28). More than that, the old sacrifices were really ineffective. The blood of bulls could not really cleanse away sins. Jesus comes into the world to offer not animal sacrifices but the oblation of a will wholly devoted to God's will. This is effective and so the new covenant replaces the old (x. 1-18).

D. Exhortation to lay hold of this great salvation while there is still time (x. 19-25); and to sin no more lest a worse thing befall them (x. 26-31). Let their own former enthusiasm spur them on

to new efforts (x. 32-39). The whole secret of the religious life is that it is a life of faith—that trust in God which expresses itself in obedience to his will and hope of the fulfilment of his promises. This faith is exemplified in the saints and heroes of Israel who carried on bravely in their own day of partial fulfilment, though they could not receive the whole promise then, because God's plan was more comprehensive and included us also (ch. xi.). That plan has now been completed in Jesus and it is for us to follow their example and his footsteps. If that means loss and suffering, interpret these trials as the fatherly discipline that proves you to be the sons of God (xii. 1-13). Cultivate the Christian virtues and do not despise your heritage (xii. 14-17). It is something far greater than the old covenant for which the old heroes suffered so much (xii. 18-19). Cherish kindness, purity, unselfishness, contentment. God is with you: what more do you need? (xiii. 1-6). Follow Christ even if it means obloquy and being outcast (xiii. 7-17).

Greetings and blessings and personal messages (xiii. 18-25).

We have seen that Hebrews was probably written between 55 and 85. That period is divided about the middle by the great catastrophe of the fall of Jerusalem. On which side of that event does Hebrews lie? It is—as has often been pointed out—precarious to argue from the present tenses in descriptions of Jewish ritual that they imply that the Temple is still standing. For (a) the same phenomenon occurs in the Mishnah (c. A.D. 200) and in Josephus<sup>1</sup>; and (b) the author of Hebrews argues from the arrangements of the Tabernacle, not of Herod's Temple. But while this is so, there is a further and weighty argument which we can now adduce. As we have seen the whole point of the argument of Heb. v.-x. is that the levitical priesthood with all its ritual has now been superseded by the Melchizedekian High-priesthood of Christ. To support this proposition our author brings forward all kinds of arguments and performs the most amazing feats of exegesis. Surely the clinching argument would have been this: 'That God has no further use for the old priesthood and ritual is conclusively shown by the fact that he has permitted the Temple to be destroyed and its services to be

<sup>1</sup> See Thackeray, *Josephus, the Man and the Historian*, 99.



brought to an end'. It is difficult to see how the writer, who shows such ingenuity in drawing support for his thesis from the most unlikely places, could have missed this argument, if it were there to be used. That he does not use it I take to be a strong indication that he was writing before A.D. 70, quite possibly before the outbreak of the Jewish revolt in 66. This consideration narrows down the period of writing to 55-70.

That, I think, is as far as we can go in fixing the date with any degree of certainty. In what follows I shall bring in some other factors and attempt to be more precise; but I must admit that this further construction is, and probably must remain, no more than a moderately attractive hypothesis. Any nearer determination of the date depends on bringing in considerations of authorship and destination. I will deal first with the question of destination.

2. *Destination.* I suggest that the Epistle was written to the Churches of the Lycus Valley, two of which, Colossae and Laodiceae, we know by name in the Pauline letters.<sup>1</sup> The main reason for thinking this is that the conditions implied in our document seem to answer to the conditions in those Churches at some time during the period 55-70, i.e. during the period in which I think the letter must have been written. We have independent evidence concerning those conditions in Paul's letter to the Colossians. The trouble in the Lycus Valley Churches is thus summarised by Bishop Lightfoot in his *Commentary on Colossians*, p. 71.<sup>2</sup>

'1. A mere glance at the Epistle suffices to detect the presence of *Judaism* in the teaching which the Apostle combats. The observance of Sabbaths and new moons is decisive in this respect. The distinction of meats and drinks points in the same direction (ii. 16 ff.). Even the enforcement of the initiatory rite of Judaism may be inferred from the contrast implied in St. Paul's recommendation of the spiritual circumcision (ii. 11).

<sup>1</sup> On the Lycus Valley and its Churches see Lightfoot, *Colossians and Philemon*, 1-70; W. M. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. 1-121; A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 73-76.

<sup>2</sup> For a very full recent discussion of the 'Colossian heresy' see Ernst Percy, *Die Probleme der Kolosser und Epheserbriefe*, 137-178.

'2. On the other hand a closer examination of its language shows that these Judaic features do not exhaust the portraiture of the heresy or heresies against which the Epistle is directed. We discern an element of theosophic speculation, which is alien to the spirit of Judaism proper. We are confronted with a shadowy mysticism, which loses itself in the contemplation of the unseen world. We discover a tendency to interpose certain spiritual agencies, intermediate beings between God and man, as the instruments of communication and the objects of worship (ii. 4, 8, 18, 23).' Lightfoot makes two main points : a hankering after Jewish religious observances and a doctrine of intermediaries between God and man.

Now the central argument of Hebrews (v.-x.) is just that the whole Jewish ritual system is superseded by the High-priestly work of Christ. That is, the central argument of Hebrews is a complete answer to the first main point in the Colossian heresy.

More than that, the argument of Heb. i.-iv. is concerned to prove the uniqueness and supremacy of Christ as against all other intermediaries. The Epistle begins with the argument that Christ is superior to the angels (i.-ii.). There the proof is obtained by taking texts from the O.T. and interpreting them in a messianic sense, at the same time comparing them with texts referring to angels. The comparison always works out to the disadvantage of the angels : they regularly come out with a lower status than the Messianic Son. Their functions are of an interim, preparatory, and subordinate character (i. 14). In particular they proclaimed the Law, which is inferior to the Gospel (ii. 1-4). Furthermore their authority does not extend into the coming order of existence, where, as can be shown from Scripture, Christ is supreme (ii. 5-8).

Similarly Christ is superior to the other great intermediary Moses (iii. 1-6) ; and to anybody else you like to name. In effect the author says to his readers, ' You seek mystical communion with God and contemplation of the unseen world ? The Old Testament itself shows that neither angels nor men can give it (iii. 7-iv. 16). No being, heavenly or earthly, can give you what you are seeking except Christ.'

Thus Heb. i.-iv. is a detailed answer to the second main point



in the Colossian heresy ; and so Heb. i.-x. is a complete refutation of the Colossian heresy as that heresy is described by Lightfoot.

One minor point of agreement between Hebrews and Colossians may be added. Lightfoot draws attention to the distinction of meats and drinks as pointing to the Judaising character of the Colossian heresy. In Col. ii. 16 the Apostle exhorts his readers not to let any man judge them in matters of meat and drink, and in verses 20 ff. he protests against their subjecting themselves to ordinances which say ' Handle not, nor taste, nor touch ', with reference to goods which exist to be used and used up. Heb. xiii. 9 reads : ' Do not be carried away by varied and novel doctrines ; for the good thing is to have one's heart strengthened by grace, not by foods wherein those who walked had no benefit '. That is, we already know all about a dietary discipline that was of no real advantage to those who submitted to it. The reference in both Hebrews and Colossians may well be the same whether we take the dietary restrictions to be Jewish food laws or pagan mystical asceticism.

I therefore think that the Epistle to the Hebrews may have been sent to the Churches of the Lycus Valley to meet the same peril as is combated by Paul's to the Colossians.

3. *Author.* By whom was it sent ? I conjecture Apollos for the following reasons : (1) He has the qualifications for writing a letter of this sort.

Our knowledge of Apollos depends on :

- (a) Primary authority : the mentions by Paul in I Cor. i. 12 ; iii. 4, 5, 6, 22 ; iv. 6 ; xvi. 12. To these add Tit. iii. 13— if, as P. N. Harrison argues (*Problem of the Pastoral Epistles*, 115-118), Tit. iii. 12-15 is a genuine note written by Paul to Titus between the ' severe letter ' and II Cor. while Titus was at Corinth.
- (b) The narrative in Acts xviii. 24-28, and the mention in Acts xix. 1.

Ἀπολλῶς (shortened form of Ἀπολλώνιος) probably was an Alexandrian Jew. Acts xviii. 24 describes him as ἀνὴρ λόγιος . . . δυνατὸς ὦν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς. Λόγιος may mean either *learned* or *eloquent*. Phrynichus, the Atticist, says that *learned* is the proper sense of the word ;

from which J. H. Moulton inferred that *eloquent* was what Luke meant by it. *Δυνατὸς ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς*—mighty in the Scriptures, can, of course, only mean at this period the O.T. In the N.T. the phrase *δυνατὸς ἐν* is peculiar to Luke. (Lk. xxiv. 19, *δυνατὸς ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ*—of Jesus; Acts vii. 22, *δυνατὸς ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις αὐτοῦ*—of Moses; and the present passage). LXX parallels are Judith xi. 8, *δυνατὸς ἐν ἐπιστήμῃ*; Ps. xxiii. (xxiv.) 8, δ. *ἐν πολέμῳ*; Eccles. xxi. 7, δ. *ἐν γλώσση*; and Ps. Sol. xvii. 42, δ. *ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ*. In *Sotah* 14a R. Simlai (c. 250) calls Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob 'mighty in knowledge of Torah and in the fulfilment of the Commandments' (*עצומים בתורה ובמצות*)—the reference being to Is. liii. 12 where *עצום* is rendered in LXX by *ἰσχυρός*. Parallels from profane Greek writers in Wettstein *ad* Lk. xxiv. 19. It is clear that Luke means us to gather that Apollos had a masterly knowledge of the O.T. It may be conjectured that he was also a skilled exegete after the Alexandrian manner of Philo on the Jewish side and Origen later on the Christian. The allegorical method was characteristic of Alexandrian exegesis. Acts further states that Apollos was *κατηχημένος τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ Κυρίου*. On *κατηχημένος* cf. Cadbury, in *Beg. Chr.*, ii., 508 f. The word implies *oral* instruction or information. It is a question whether *τοῦ Κυρίου* here means 'Jehovah' or 'Jesus'. Probably the latter in contrast to *δυνατὸς ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς*. Apollos knew the essence of Judaism from book-study and he had learned something about Christ and the Gospel orally. It may be conjectured that *τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ Κυρίου* here means the way of life set forth in the teaching and by the example of Jesus: roughly, the 'Ethics of the Sermon on the Mount'. With this goes the statement that he knew only the baptism of John, i.e. a baptism of repentance as a prelude to this new way of life. He further knew and could recount *τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*, i.e. the main outlines of the story of Jesus. For



what Luke understood by this phrase see Luke xxiv. 19 ff. It is to be noted that all this, even backed by the spiritual fervour of Apollos, was not regarded as a *Gospel*. What Apollos was preaching when Priscilla and Aquila found him was still not the Gospel. He knew Jesus the Prophet of Nazareth, colleague and successor to John the Baptist, and with John leader of a prophetic and spiritual revival within Judaism. The something more, that made Apollos into a Christian missionary instead of a Jewish revivalist, was communicated by Priscilla and Aquila; and Luke describes it by saying that they took him in hand and ἀκριβέστερον αὐτῷ ἐξέθεντο τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ὁδόν (J. H. Ropes om. τοῦ θεοῦ). We can only conjecture what is implied in this; but it is a fairly safe guess that it is what is given in v. 28, εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν. In other words what Apollos' previous preaching had been meant to lead up to, and prepare the Jews for, is now seen by him to be something already accomplished. The Kingdom has come; the Messiah has appeared. Jesus is not another forerunner like John preparing the people for the coming Messiah and his Kingdom. He *is* the Messiah: and the Kingdom has come in him and his followers. In place of a Johannine repentance-baptism in preparation for a future Kingdom we have the Christian rite of incorporation into a present Kingdom.

With this new message Apollos went from Ephesus to Corinth bearing a letter of introduction to the community there; and began to work among the Jews, using his O.T. scholarship as a means to convince them of the truth of his new faith (xix. 27 f.). Some of the terms used by Luke to describe the work of Apollos are of special interest. Συμβάλετο. This word is peculiar to the Lucan writings (Ev. 3; Ac. 4) in the N.T. its meanings are:

Act. lit. 'throw together', and hence:—

(a) To discuss, confer, arrange a matter.

(b) To meet with, fall in with.

Middle. To make a contribution, help, assist.

(See the exx. in Moulton and Milligan, *Voc.* s.v.)

διὰ τῆς χάριτος. Should this be taken with *πεπιστευκόσιν* or with *συνεβάλετο*? For (1) cf. Ac. xv. 11. διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ πιστεύομεν σωθῆναι. For (2) cf. Ac. iv. 33; vi. 8 and Luke ii. 40, 52; iv. 22. As a rule if Luke means the grace of God or Christ, he says so explicitly. Therefore we are justified in taking the second alternative and regarding *χάρις* in this case as a certain quality about Apollos, a spiritual gift possessed by him, through which he was able to be of real help to the Corinthian Christians.

*διακατηλέγχετο*. He not only beat them in argument—he completely floored them. And he made a regular business of it (*εὐτόνως*); and he did it publicly (*δημοσίᾳ*). Apollos ought to be the patron saint of the Christian evidence societies; the father of apologetics.

Such vigour and eloquence doubtless had their effect in two ways: (a) by strengthening the conviction of some who were already members of the Church; and (b) by securing the conversion of others, perhaps from Judaism. The result would be a section of the Corinthian community who could own Apollos as their father (or step-father) in the Gospel. Here doubtless we have the Apollos party at Corinth: simply the people who had been either converted by him or who being already Church members had fallen under the spell of his personality and his eloquence.

- (2) He has the local connexion and interest. In Acts he makes his first appearance at Ephesus.
- (3) Hebrews shows great familiarity with the characteristic thoughts and expressions of Paul as we find them in Corinthians and Romans. And the period when Corinthians and Romans were written was the time when Apollos was in close touch with Paul.
- (4) The attitude on second repentance in Hebrews might be traced back to the austere teaching of John the Baptist.

And now I really launch out into the deep.

What is the relation between Hebrews and Colossians? Here I make very tentative suggestions.



I suggest that Hebrews is prior to Colossians, and re-construct the story in this way.

Apollos has an interest in the Churches of Ephesus and the neighbourhood. News is brought to him possibly at Corinth about the new departures in the Lycus Valley. This letter is his attempt to counter the new teaching by showing the sufficiency and finality of Christ.

When the news about the Colossian heresy was later conveyed to Paul at Rome, a copy of Hebrews was sent along with the news. This would account for several facts.

- (a) The fact that Hebrews is known at a very early date in Rome, *and is known not to be by Paul.*
- (b) That it is known to Irenaeus ; but its authorship is not known.
- (c) That it is known to Tertullian, and supposed by him to be the work of Barnabas. I should think that (b) and (c) arise out of (a).
- (d) It would account for the somewhat advanced Christology of Colossians. We assume a general and dominant Pauline influence perhaps too readily, and sometimes overlook the possibility that Paul may have been influenced by others. May it not be the case that Paul in Colossians has been influenced by Heb. i.-iv ?
- (e) It would account for the belief in Egypt that Hebrews was Pauline. For the first collections of the Pauline corpus were made in Asia Minor and—if Harnack is right—Corinth. An important letter like Hebrews attached to such a collection, and having nothing to show its authorship, would naturally be reckoned in with the rest.

# INVESTIGATIONS INTO THE OLD TESTAMENT PROBLEM: THE RESULTS

By EDWARD ROBERTSON, D.LITT., D.D.

FORMERLY PROFESSOR OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES  
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

**D**URING the past few years the writer has by public lectures in the John Rylands Library, published subsequently in its BULLETIN, suggested and advocated a new approach to the problem of the Old Testament.<sup>1</sup> It is now fitting that there should be a summation of the arguments and the results showing their significance and how too, they can be woven into the pattern of Hebrew history. To accomplish this in orderly fashion it will be necessary at times to take up again, and re-stress, points which have already been discussed. For this we would ask the indulgence of the reader.

The scientific interpretation of the Old Testament has been dominated in the past century and more by German theories and their elaborations. Under the compelling force of argument and counter-argument, theory yielded to theory until in that bearing the names of Graf and Wellhausen a culminating point was reached. It did not achieve finality in interpretation but only reached a state of relative equilibrium in matters controversial. Shaped and reshaped to furnish a solution for the major problems of Old Testament interpretation which pressed in upon scholars from every side, it seemed to provide a reasoned answer, and in some cases a reasonable, or at least plausible, solution. Its great defect is that the solution it offers is not final, nor can ever be

<sup>1</sup> 'The Disruption of Israel's Monarchy: Before and After', BULLETIN, xx. (1936).

'Temple and Torah: Suggesting an Alternative to the Graf-Wellhausen Hypothesis', xxvi (1) (1941).

'The Priestly Code: The Legislation of the Old Testament and Graf-Wellhausen', xxvi (2) (1942).

'The Riddle of the Torah: Suggesting a Solution', xxvii (1943).

'Samuel and Saul' (The Tyndale Lecture), xxviii (1944).

'The Pentateuch Problem: Some New Aspects', xxix (1945).

'The Period of the Judges: A Mystery Period in the History of Israel', xxx (1946).



accepted generally as such. In the view which it presents of the origin and development of Old Testament literature it runs counter not only to all Hebrew tradition but to all natural expectation, and in many directions strains credibility, and even credulity, to breaking point. Amongst other features which distinguish it, its viewpoint makes the prophets antecedent to the law. It regards the book of Deuteronomy as a product of the times of Hezekiah or Josiah, and, if not actually written by the prophets, at least composed in the prophetic atmosphere embodying prophetic ideas and the legislation arising therefrom. It regards most of what remains of the legislation of Pentateuch, and much also of the rest of the Old Testament literature, as emanations of the Exilic, or even post-Exilic, periods.

That there was considerable literary activity in the Exilic period cannot be denied, and there is no need to deny it. That the law was first codified in that period is, however, a contention not so easily accepted. Here surely is a reversal of all that we would expect. Law is one of the earliest human institutions and is the foundation of all organised society. Its origins lie in so distant a past that most early peoples appear to have regarded it as a special divine gift to man. Law, as the regulator of society, is a growth from a few broad principles, growing upward and branching outward, to cover the varied and varying requirements of the social organism.

To an ancient and intensely religious people like the Hebrews their law, divinely given as they believed, was their all in all. From the time of their acceptance of the law in nucleus form, which in their minds was an historic event associated with a definite place, they had cherished it, studied it, pondered over it, drawn inspiration from it, and administered it. Given, as they firmly believed by God, on this notable occasion in their history to serve for all time, the law must of necessity contain within itself the seeds of all possible development. It was their belief that all legislation and direction which might later evolve, were already extant in the 'Ten Words' written by the finger of God on the tables of stone. It is possible for critics to argue that this constitutes mass deception, that the law was not given in this way, and that they can see signs and evidences that it was a product of

the times of Ezra, and was fashioned from oral repetitions held in the retentive memories of priests or their associates.<sup>1</sup> This belief in the retention of the law by oral repetition only is largely a legacy of last century when scholars believed that the art of writing was unknown to the early Hebrews. We have long passed from that stage. Neither wishful thinking nor trenchant criticism can alter the hard fact that their law has held the Hebrew people together from the most distant days of their history. If there is one tradition more firmly established amongst the Hebrews than any other it is that of the continuous existence and power of their Torah. The long association of the Hebrews with their Torah is not a mere delusion induced in their minds by the ingenuity of priests planning the domination of their ilk in Babylonian seclusion in the dark days of the Exile. Their Torah was ever to the Hebrew people both warp and woof in the texture of their existence.

It is for that very reason that the traditions of such a people must be treated with respect. All religion abhors change and progress. It desires nothing better than that to-morrow should ever be the same as yesterday. The consequence is that, controlled by this most powerful conservatism, religious traditions are the strongest of all. And the Hebrew traditions are certainly no exception. The genealogical list is the backbone of early Hebrew historical records and traditions. The Hebrews compiled and preserved genealogical lists of their principal men and their families, their priests, their rulers, their prophets, their tribal ancestors.<sup>2</sup> Great value was attached to these and at the time of Ezra only those priests who could produce their family tree were reckoned within the pale.<sup>3</sup> Some there were who 'sought their register among those that were reckoned by genealogy, but they were not found: therefore were they deemed polluted and put from the priesthood'.<sup>4</sup> That their genealogical lists should be lightly regarded by critics and even more lightly discredited, is neither justified nor justifiable. In the transmission of proper

<sup>1</sup> Education of children in the East has always made large use of repetition and memory work. But that does not rule out in this case the use of written records.

<sup>2</sup> 'So all Israel were reckoned by genealogies', 1 Chr. ix. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ezra ii. 1 f.

<sup>4</sup> Ezra ii. 62; Neh. vii. 64. Cf. also Neh. xii. 23, etc.



names over a long period of time there is unfortunately danger of variation in orthography and even distortion of form, but the names themselves are certainly not the spurious concoctions of priests with ulterior motive. And around certain names in the genealogical table tales and legends clustered. The structure of the books of Genesis and Exodus follows the genealogical table downwards from Adam.

There is a tendency, not unnatural perhaps, to imagine that all early peoples were possessed of childlike faculties and limited capabilities. That may be true of some early peoples but it is certainly not true of the Hebrews of history. Such a belief may not be inappropriate in respect of primitive peoples with a jungle background. It is not true of the peoples who lived and moved, wandered and settled, in the lands forming and adjoining the Fertile Crescent; lands which were the cradle of civilisation; lands where rich cultures flourished long centuries before the Hebrew tribes experienced both the desert and the sown, and travelled their confines.

The Hebrew tribes come within historical ken as a civilised and intelligent race, originating in an area of high culture and contacting others at a similarly high level. In their traditions they always appear as such, and have continued to do so down the ages. There is no reason then to believe that the early Hebrews were less intelligent or less capable than are their descendants. They could, and did, create great institutions. They could, and did, conduct their worldly as well as their religious affairs—these being in general indistinguishable—through assemblies and councils in true democratic fashion.<sup>1</sup> The seventy elders to whom the Lord gave of his spirit, have served as a model for later institutions.<sup>2</sup> They could, and did, adapt their religious practice to their circumstances and their environment. When their occupation of the Holy Land made restriction of worship to one centre impossible of achievement, they established zonal shrines from which, and through which, their God might be worshipped.

Of these provincial shrines we know all too little beyond the

<sup>1</sup> 'In the multitude of counsellors', says their proverb, 'there is salvation' (Prov. xi. 14). Or again: 'In the multitude of counsellors purposes are established' (Prov. xv. 22).

<sup>2</sup> Num. xi. 25.

names and some indication of location.<sup>1</sup> Each would have its own priesthood and its own defined area from which its worshippers would be drawn. Each would have facilities for the instruction of the priestly novitiate, and perhaps also of lay youth, and be the centre of learning and culture for its area. At each the law would be studied and administered. There would be the priestly assembly, the *bēth-dîn* of later years, presided over by the chief priest. To each shrine the Hebrews of the area would resort to perform all the requirements of the law. Each shrine, in short, had all the institutions and facilities through which it fulfilled its function and radiated its influence. As time passed each shrine would develop more and more its own traditions, or rather its own rendering of the common tradition, regarding the infancy of the race, and its own interpretation of the meaning and application of the common law. This would give rise to variant forms of the narratives of the tribal ancestors. When the time came for their collection and editing—as we believe at the time of the formation of Deuteronomy or shortly afterwards—they were gathered and fused together, and the result is seen with great clearness in the patriarchal narratives of Genesis for instance.

Thus the J, E, P documents of the documentary theory may owe some at least of their distinctive characteristics to the shrines. It is possible, however, as we have pointed out elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> that the divine names El, Elohim, Yahweh, 'Adhonai, Hash-shem, etc., may be distinctive of periods in their usage, rather than of individual writers.

It may be helpful at this point to give an outline sketch of the course of Hebrew history from the Entry to the Exile as we now see it in the light of our investigations.

The Entry was made—so scholars agree—both from the south and the east. The strong Joseph tribes entered from the east and the Judahites from the south. Shechem appears to have been the first religious centre chosen.<sup>3</sup> That was to be expected because of the existence there of a sanctuary and because of its early associations with both Abraham and Jacob. It was the

<sup>1</sup> On the question of the shrines see the interesting and important inquiry by R. Brinker, *The Influence of the Sanctuaries in Early Israel*, Manchester, 1946.

<sup>2</sup> See *The Pentateuch Problem*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Joshua xxiv. 1 ff.



first place to which Abram repaired when he arrived in Canaan.<sup>1</sup> As the first religious centre of the tribes it seemed destined to be the permanent religious capital for the whole land. And so it would have been, and would have continued to be, had not the manner of the conquest destroyed the possibility of maintaining a unified worship directed from one centre. Effective direction from Shechem must have been gravely handicapped by the disjointed state of Hebrew territory. The conquest had been achieved by the tribes unequally and sporadically, the land being thus divided up into zones of conquered territory interlaced with Canaanite *enclaves*. The only possibility of carrying on the worship of their God effectively lay in its decentralisation and in the establishment of zonal sanctuaries. It has been the practice of the conquerors in past times to convert the shrines of the conquered to the service of the gods of the conquerors, just as the church of St. Sophia in Constantinople and the Temple area at Jerusalem were converted to the worship of Allah by the victorious Muslims. It may be that the Hebrews followed this practice in the selection and erection of the provincial sanctuaries, but whilst there is likelihood of this there is no clear written evidence linking them with it. The provincial shrines had this in common that they operated the same ritual and administered the same law. This law would be, basically at any rate, the Ten Commandments. It might include its earliest midrashic expansion, the Book of the Covenant.<sup>2</sup> Shechem, where the Aaronite high-priesthood, as but fitting, was established, would remain, nominally at least, the religious centre and the political capital of the land, since in a theocratic state, such as that of the Hebrews, the two spheres were merged.

There were two persons who by right wielded power in the Hebrew federal state—the high priest and the military commander. The former was born into his office which he held by primogeniture. The latter was appointed because of his possession of the requisite qualities for office. It was Eleazar and Joshua whom Moses appointed to divide the land.<sup>3</sup> Moses had also

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xii. 6. Abram went to the *meqôm shekhem*—the ‘place’ or rather ‘sanctuary’ of Shechem.

<sup>2</sup> As generally reckoned: Exod. xx. 22—xxiii. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Num. xxxiv. 18.

defined the position of the military leader anent the high priest, making it clear that the former was subordinate to the latter, and could only function at his behest and in consultation with him.<sup>1</sup> The high priesthood at Shechem would appear to have carried on the tradition and maintained the right to appoint the military leader to whom they gave the title of king. Joshua, being the first king, and appointed by Moses, was always referred to as 'the holy king Joshua'.

What were the names of these military leaders whom the Ephraimites (Samaritans) continued to appoint? The list of judges given in the book of Judges corresponds closely to the Samaritan list of kings. The Jews in the earnest endeavours of later times to avoid all mention of the Shechemite high priesthood, in order to belittle the position of Shechem anent Jerusalem, did not admit that these were 'kings'. For the Jews to recognise them as rightful kings would have been to admit the validity of their appointment by the Samaritan high priest, and consequently would involve a recognition of the authenticity of the Samaritan high-priestly order. Hosea in his diatribe against the Northern Kingdom repudiates these creations of Ephraim. He gives as the message of Yahweh, 'They have set up kings but not by me'.<sup>2</sup> But the whole presentation of Hebrew history with the exception of the Pentateuch comes solely from Jewish sources and is to some extent vitiated by the implacable enmity between Judah and Ephraim, between Jew and Samaritan.<sup>3</sup> In order to get a clear picture of conditions in Palestine in the period of the Judges, for instance, or rather the period between the end of the Pentateuch history and the appearance of Samuel, it seems necessary to look beyond Jewish sources to the Samaritan, scanty as they are, for additional supplementary information. That the Aaronite priesthood of Shechem was in existence and took an active part in the nation's affairs, seems certain.

Suddenly there came an event which changed the course of

<sup>1</sup> Num. xxvii. 18-23.

<sup>2</sup> viii. 4.

<sup>3</sup> As we have tried to show in the article on 'The Period of the Judges', the history of that period is obscured and coloured by this enmity. From the book of Judges one could not learn that Shechem occupied any special place in the religious life of the period or that there was, indeed, a priesthood in the land at all.



Hebrew history and has had, we are convinced, a great effect on the world rôle of the Hebrew people. A schism developed within the Aaronite priesthood at Shechem. It arose, so Samaritan chronicles tell us, from the rivalry between the Eleazar and Ithamar branches of the priesthood. Eleazar was the oldest surviving son of Aaron and the one through whom the high priesthood was transmitted. The Samaritan records tell us that when the high priesthood descended upon Uziah he was a mere child. The propriety of his being recognised as high priest under the circumstances was hotly disputed by Eli, the influential head of the Ithamar branch, who thought that the office should have fallen to him. Dissension was followed by strife, resulting in the withdrawal of Eli and his supporters from Shechem to set up a rival sanctuary at Shiloh, or rather perhaps to make use of the sanctuary there as a rival temple to Shechem. As, however, the high priesthood was determined by primogeniture, Eli, who belonged to a cadet branch of the Aaron family, was clearly at a disadvantage for which neither material power nor personal influence could compensate, and for which there was no redress. It had, however, the effect of splitting the Ephraimite people into two since a considerable section of them followed Eli.

In addition to this religious upheaval which had far-reaching consequences, the political fortunes of the Hebrew tribes were clouded by inter-tribal jealousies and animosities. In particular there was a long-standing feud between Ephraim and Judah which seemed to be incapable of appeasement. Ephraim is always represented in the Old Testament records—and that means the records of Judah—as the spoiled child of the Hebrew family who disdained co-operation with the others. But just how much this representation of Ephraim is coloured by the ill-concealed prejudices of the Jewish writers of a later age, it would be hard to say.

Then when things appeared at their blackest, by a happy chance the Shiloh temple found and developed the Ephraimite Samuel. 'Before the sun of Eli set, the sun of Samuel of Ramathaim rose', says the Talmud.<sup>1</sup> Samuel proved to be one of those great national leaders who emerge to lead a people at a

time of crisis. He early caught the imagination of the whole people for 'all Israel from Dan even to Beersheba knew that Samuel was established to be a prophet of the Lord'.<sup>1</sup> And the fruits of that recognition were that 'the word of Samuel came to all Israel'.<sup>2</sup> It would appear from this that the Shechemite priesthood joined in this recognition. As a prophet of the Lord he appears to have been recognised as the supreme interpreter of God's law, for Samuel judged Israel all the days of his life.<sup>3</sup> He went, too, on circuit to Bethel, Gilgal, Mizpah, returning to his home in Ramah where he also judged Israel.<sup>4</sup> Gilgal is the name by which the Jewish historians often referred to Shechem.<sup>5</sup> In the very use of such a term as Gilgal for Shechem one may perhaps detect a flavour of derision!

But Samuel's circuit-going in the land and judging Israel, had more than a merely unifying effect. It is of significance for it reveals that divergencies in the law and its application were arising in the provincial sanctuaries and that there was need of a master interpretation as well as a unifying influence. Samuel in his person supplied both. But the time had now clearly come for a new codification of the divine law as interpreted in the sanctuaries. That was something which could not be undertaken offhand by anyone however well versed in the law. It could only be left in the hands of one such as Samuel who could combine in his own person the requisite authority and the unique God-given favour and leadership recognised by all. To bring into effect a re-codification God must speak through its sponsor as he spoke through Moses. A re-codification could not be the work of one person only. There would require to be meetings, bands of

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. iii. 20.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Sam. iv. 1.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Sam. vii. 15.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Sam. vii. 16 f.

<sup>5</sup> The identification of Gilgal with Shechem is accepted by a number of scholars. Cf. R. Brinker, *The Influence of Sanctuaries in Early Israel*, 1946, pp. 143 ff. It was to Gilgal that Samuel took Saul to renew (*hiddash*) the kingdom there (1 Sam. xi. 14). The expression 'renew' has long puzzled scholars. It has only significance if the kingship had previously been bestowed there. It was at Shechem that the Aaronite high priests appointed their kings. Moreover, it was to Shechem that Rehoboam repaired to be made king. Gilgal was clearly the Ephraimite centre of importance and that could only be Shechem. Hosea says of Ephraim, 'All their wickedness is in Gilgal for there I hated them; because of the wickedness of their doings I will drive them out of my house' (ix. 15).



prophets gathered from the sanctuaries, to discuss, weigh, amend, adopt or reject. Such assembly would also require to be one in which God's presence was manifest. Is there any evidence of such?

There is sufficient evidence to show that Samuel during part of his career was not only in association with assemblies of that nature but presided over them. When Saul sent messengers to take David who had taken refuge with Samuel at Naioth in Ramah, Samuel's home, and when they 'saw the company of the prophets prophesying, and Samuel standing as head over them, "the Spirit of God came upon the messengers of Saul and they also prophesied"'.<sup>1</sup> That these mysterious assemblies of prophets presided over by Samuel were engaged in this necessary codification of the law is a reasonable supposition. No assembly devoid of God's presence could have any chance of success in such a task, nor could the results of its labours have been accepted by the Hebrew people. Not only was a re-codification required but fresh legislation of a civil nature was called for.<sup>2</sup> It was a time of crisis for the federal state and there was evidently a move away from the priestly control towards the civil power represented by the king. High priestly authority had already been effectively challenged by Eli and his followers, and this new movement was designed to place king above high priest. Samuel, like the great statesman that he was, yielded to the clamour and the pressure of the mass of the people. This altered position of king and high priest was allowed for in the new codification. In Deuteronomy the king appears for the first time and the high priest disappears. A return to centralisation of worship as well as unity of worship was envisaged, since a close political union of the tribes under one king made this not merely possible but also desirable. A return to the centralisation of worship from the decentralisation thrust upon them by the nature of the Conquest, was natural and ultimately inevitable. The site of the new capital, which must house also the central sanctuary, was a

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. xix. 20. For a fuller discussion of this point see *Samuel and Saul*. The 'beth-din of Samuel' became a familiar phrase on Jewish lips of later times.

<sup>2</sup> That separate legislation under the two categories, religious and civil, could be in the minds of the Hebrews is indicated by 2 Chr. xix. 11: 'Behold Amariah, the chief priest, is over you in all matters of the Lord, and Zebadiah, the son of Ishmael, the ruler of the house of Judah in all the king's matters'.

controversial point. Because of inter-tribal enmity and jealousy, places such as Shechem and Hebron, both of which, although on different grounds, had claims, were unlikely to be chosen.<sup>1</sup> As a means of placating all parties and shelving a thorny problem for the time being, the selection of the capital city was left to the future. God himself would determine it in his own good time. It would be the place which 'the Lord your God shall choose out of all your tribes to put his name there'.<sup>2</sup> All-round satisfaction was probably achieved by an ingenious use of terminology. The word used was most likely *bāhar* (perfect Qal) which can either mean 'has chosen' (as the Ephraimites of Shechem would interpret it, having in mind their own locality and temple) or 'has (in mind) chosen', the equivalent of 'will choose', i.e. the result will appear in the future. This is the so-called 'prophetic perfect', leaving it open to the Jews to so interpret it. This is the reading of the Samaritan Pentateuch, but the Masoretic text has *yibhar*, 'shall choose'. The *yodh* would seem to have been introduced at a later time—the Samaritans say by Ezra—to indicate by its clear and unmistakable futurity that Jerusalem was the place God had in mind to choose.

But the great glory of the new codification was that it restored unity and harmony in Israel. Its general acceptance implied a re-united Ephraim and Judah, and the burying of the hatchet by the Eleazar and Ithamar families. This Samuel, himself an Ephraimite, was in a position to bring about. That this happy state of things was all too brief was no fault of his. The fact remains, however, that the Eleazar and Ithamar branches are found cast in service together at the Jerusalem Temple when its projected courses were planned by David.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Shechem as the earliest religious centre and the headquarters of the Aaronite priesthood, and because of its associations with the patriarchs. Hebron, where so many of the ancestors of the Hebrews were buried. Indeed David later chose it as his capital in his struggle against Saul.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. xii. 5.

<sup>3</sup> The courses instead of being allocated entirely to the Eleazar branch of the family, as might have been expected, were shared with the Ithamar priesthood, but in the proportion of 2 to 1 (16 courses to the Eleazar priesthood and 8 to Ithamar). The Jewish historian, unwilling to admit the precedency of the Eleazar priesthood, tried to conceal the fact by giving as the reason for the disparity that 'there were more chief men found of the sons of Eleazar than of the sons of Ithamar' !!



When Deuteronomy, as a whole, was completed, it formed the nucleus of the Pentateuch. There was attached to it as an elaborate preface the legalistic data from which it was constructed. They were not abrogated and discarded. They were attached that all might see and adjudge of the work done. The formulations of the laws at the different sanctuaries were given so that we often find a repetition of laws in slightly variant forms. So also was it with the narratives of the patriarchs. The variant forms which found acceptance were not eliminated in favour of one version. They were fused rather than reconciled, thus incorporating not only the main features of the narratives but dragging in with them a crop of duplications, divergencies and other inconsistencies. Thus came into being the Pentateuch, divided into five books.<sup>1</sup> The Hebrew fathers saw nothing inconsistent and certainly nothing false or wrong, in ascribing them to Moses. To them they formed part of the teaching and interpretation of the law which came through him. The first giver of the law was its giver for all time. The Pentateuch was merely the fruit of the seeds planted by him. It was fruit tended and finally garnered for his people by God. Without that divine care and supervision manifested in Samuel's assemblies it could not have been produced at all.

The Torah, having been accepted by all parties, would not thereafter be open to substantial alteration or modification. But minor alterations would be possible up to the time of its rejection by 'Rehoboam and all Israel'. Thereafter such changes would not be made with the consent of all parties but were of the kind fashioned by either Ephraimites or Jews to support the claims to supremacy of Shechem or Jerusalem.

Although the great schism was healed, on the surface at least, by Samuel's unifying influence, it was not destined to endure for long. All sudden upsetting of the balance of power brings an aftermath of disturbed and confused conditions. The upheaval in the Hebrew state brought in its train much dissension and intrigue, with plot and counter-plot. The court intrigues, so conspicuous in the reigns of David and Solomon, were largely of

<sup>1</sup> For the problem of the number of the books see above, '*The Pentateuch Problem*'.

priestly origins. The priesthood did not yield its age-long power to the kingship either willingly or gracefully. Samuel made that clear in his attitude to the popular demand for a king. At the Jerusalem court Shilonite and Shechemite renewed their feud in a struggle for supremacy. Shiloh itself had ceased to exist but its fortunes had now become more closely linked with Jerusalem. Abiathar, its surviving priest of the Eli family, was a chief priest along with Zadok in the time of David.<sup>1</sup> In the struggle for the throne which followed David's death, Abiathar backed Adonijah, whose legitimate claims were stronger than those of Solomon. He was, in consequence, deprived of office by Solomon when he came to the throne, whilst Zadok of the Eleazar family was confirmed in office. Again it was Ahijah the Shilonite who stirred Jeroboam to active revolt with the promise of divine aid in shaping a new kingdom. Yet both Shechemite and Shilonite appear to have participated in the Jeroboam revolt, since we are told that Jeroboam 'built Shechem in the hill country of Ephraim and dwelt there'.<sup>2</sup> This was but natural for the Shechemite priesthood must have been bitterly disappointed at the turn of affairs which had so exalted Jerusalem at the expense of Shechem. They naturally wanted the capital city of the state to be Shechem and in this Jeroboam acquiesced.

Jeroboam did not for long see eye to eye with the Aaronite priesthood of Shechem. We are told that he departed from there and built Peniel. We do not know if this was the result of his desire to introduce a new form of worship, or, perhaps rather an entirely new religion, which he may have brought with him from Egypt. No support, however, was forthcoming for his calf worship. This is made clear from the words of Abijah, son of Rehoboam, when he fulminated from Mount Zemaraim in the hill country of Ephraim against Jeroboam. 'Have ye not driven out the priests of the Lord, the sons of Aaron, the Levite . . . ?'<sup>3</sup> Abandoned by the priesthood, he was forced to 'make priests from among all the people who were not of the sons of Levi'.<sup>4</sup> The indications are that he was driven to introduce the new worship as a means of maintaining hold on his people. He rightly feared

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 2 Sam. xix. 11.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Ki. xii. 25.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Chr. xiii. 9.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Ki. xii. 31.

the Jerusalem Temple with its religious influence and attraction. All this rather suggests that, far from taking hold of and swaying the people, his fancy religion was a 'flop', even if, as seems to have been the case, it persisted as the state religion of the Northern Kingdom even after his day. The stigma of the adherence of the Northern Kingdom, for a period even, to idolatrous worship remained long after the worship ceased to be practised, and served as a useful stick in the hands of the Jews with which to beat the Ephraimites (Samaritans). That the worship of the Golden Calf had any real substance, or that it left any deep or lasting impression on the people, is more than doubtful. For its existence even, there is little, if any, archaeological support. It would almost appear to have been merely a fleeting episode in the life of a section of the Hebrew people, and the Jews in their antagonism to the Ephraimites have been disposed to make the most of it.

The re-centralisation of worship with Jerusalem, the political capital, as centre, brought in its train the dislodgment of the priesthoods of the provincial sanctuaries. They had served their day and generation and were now superseded. It does not appear that all the buildings were destroyed, because after the disruption of the monarchy the people of Judah, at least, and their kings, are said to have permitted worship to continue at these high places. They may have been reduced in status by the withdrawal of recognition as places of worship, and the annulment of all rights and privileges as independent sanctuaries. The new law code, Deuteronomy, was intended to operate, and could only have operated from one centre. This would bring to Jerusalem a large number of priests from the provincial sanctuaries. The Temple was a vast building and the greater part of the provincial priests would be assigned duties as officiants in the Temple. One problem was, what to do with the chief priests of the provincial shrines. These priests were, of course, all descendants of Aaron but not in the direct line of high priesthood which was the prerogative of Shechem. It would seem that their services were suitably utilised by appointing them to act as members of the court of appeal,<sup>1</sup> where they served along with a civil judge.

<sup>1</sup> Deut. xvii. 8 ff. ; xviii. 1 f. ; xxiv. 8.



This court is termed 'The Priests, The Levites',<sup>1</sup> and they had before them the standard copy of the law to which they made reference in arriving at their decisions.<sup>2</sup> But this concentration of the chief men of the provincial priesthoods, men who had tasted of the sweets of power in their own sanctuaries, made Jerusalem a hot-bed of intrigue. As we have seen, the high priesthood for which Deuteronomy makes no provision, was restored by Solomon who gave the position to Zadok. The disruption of the monarchy was due as much to priestly intrigue as to political discontent. A regime which had brought the Hebrew federal state to a full and glorious bloom in a relatively short time was quickly brought to nought. It brought to nought with it also the new law code of the federal state. That fact we could have safely deduced had there been no direct statement to that effect. But there is a direct statement. It is said expressly of Rehoboam that 'he forsook the Torah of the Lord and *all Israel* with him'.<sup>3</sup> The status, too, of the Temple was clearly affected. No longer could it be regarded as God's habitation on earth, his abode in a united Israel. Its spoliation by Shishak (Sheshonk), king of Egypt, merely emphasised its abandonment by Yahweh. The Temple had ceased to be the religious centre of a federal state and had become merely a territorial sanctuary of Judah, albeit a magnificent one. With the rejection of the Torah it must have reverted to the worship prevailing at the provincial shrines, and most probably that of Shiloh with which it was linked through Samuel and David. Jeremiah indicates this association when he says that in addressing the worshippers at the Temple the Lord reminds them of the fate of Shiloh, 'where my name was at the first'.<sup>4</sup> The law code comprised in Leviticus xvii-xxvi, first called the 'Law of Holiness' (H) by Klostermann in 1877, is the one most likely to have formed the basis. Shiloh, being a schismatic temple to which Eli attached himself, would have every inducement to adopt, or evolve, a law code with features of its own.

<sup>1</sup> For an explanation of this title see *The Priestly Code*.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. xvii. 18.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Chr. xii. 1. Note the use of the Deuteronomic term 'all Israel' to indicate the federal state.

<sup>4</sup> Jer. vii. 12.

Only for a re-united people could there be a re-introduction of that Torah which Rehoboam and all Israel had perforce abandoned. The recognition that Ephraim must rejoin Judah if all Israel was to be restored to divine favour, runs through the utterances of the prophets.<sup>1</sup> Ezekiel, concerned with the return of Yahweh to his Temple, sees a return to a re-united people, with Ephraim and Judah returning in harmony once more to Jerusalem. Isaiah, his soul filled with despair at the consequences of the Disruption, can see in a vision the return of the Lord to the Temple which he had abandoned—the Lord surrounded by his seraphic host, 'high and lifted up and his train filling the Temple'.<sup>2</sup>

Yet, whatever law code took the place of the Torah in the Temple at the Disruption, whether H or some other, it was clearly one which differed from the Torah sufficiently to arouse excitement and some perturbation when the copy—perhaps the standard copy which was 'before the Priests, the Levites'<sup>3</sup>—was discovered in the Temple and given to the high priest Hilkiah, in the time of King Josiah. This showed that in the interval between the abandonment of the Torah by Rehoboam and its rediscovery a law-code, other than the Torah, had been in operation. The political sundering of North and South in the time of Rehoboam was accompanied by a religious disintegration. As the two were so closely interwoven, that was inevitable. That the populace of Judah would revert to worshipping in the provincial shrines was as natural as it was inevitable. The fulminations of the Jewish historians against those kings of Judah who either themselves worshipped at the high places or permitted, or otherwise encouraged, others to do so, are due to the fact that they are writing from a time subsequent to Ezra, who for the third time introduced again the Torah to his people. To the Jewish historians to whom we owe the books of Kings and Chronicles the criterion for divine favour is acceptance of the Torah and rejection of aught else. A king is to be judged from the standpoint of his attitude towards it. Kings, such as Asa, Hezekiah, Josiah, are in favour

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hos. i. 11; iii. 6. Is. xi. 8. Mic. ii. 12; v. 3. Jer. iii. 18; xxxi. 5 ff. Cf. also Am. ix. 8 f.; 14 f. Hos. xi. 10 f.; xiv. 4-8. Ezek. iv. 4 f.; xvi. 53 ff.; xxxix. 25; xlvii. 13 ff. and v. 27 f. is a prelude to xl. ff. (S.R. Driver<sup>9</sup>, p. 291).

<sup>2</sup> Is. vi.

<sup>3</sup> Deut. xvii. 18.

with God because they strove to re-introduce it. It is the Torah which can be the salvation of God's people. Rejection of it rendered them liable to all punishments and calamities listed in chapter xxviii of the book of Deuteronomy. In the Torah, God has spoken finally to his people through Moses and Samuel, or rather through Moses interpreted by Samuel. No other law-code should, or could, be a substitute for it.

Another consequence of the rejection of the Torah by Rehoboam and all Israel would be the return of many priests to the sanctuaries from which they had been drafted to Jerusalem. It was to be expected that those who had previously been heads of shrines and their families would drift back to their former homes. Yet, perhaps, no religious class would be more upset at the upheaval than the 'prophets'. It has now come to be recognised by a growing number of Old Testament scholars that the prophets were not isolated individuals but had an official position in the cultus, attached, it would appear, to the shrines. God's law from the first called for interpretation, and as it evolved and expanded it required a special class of men to study it and furnish the interpretation according to the divine will. Such men were the official prophets. They were the precursors of the Sopherim. To interpret God's word aright they must be held fast in the grasp of the divine. Obviously some would be affected in this way more than others. The greatest of them would evince manifest signs of God's hold on them. They would act strangely and be capable of strange experiences. The power of working miracles would be associated with them. They were able to see the future in visions, and in a state of trance have God speak through them. But these were the great prophets. Those who studied God's word under them constituted the class known as 'the sons of the prophets'. Amos is not speaking ironically when he proclaims that he was 'neither a prophet, nor the son of a prophet'. He is not deriding a class of men. Rather is he emphasising the wonder that God should have chosen to speak through one like himself who had not made a study of God's word. In the seventeenth chapter of the second book of Kings the chronicler has a disquisition on the reason for the deportation of the inhabitants of the Northern Kingdom by the



Assyrians, which he finds in their neglect of God's worship and in their building high places in all their cities, and in their idolatry. And he adds : ' Yet the Lord testified unto Israel and unto Judah by the hand of every prophet and every seer saying, Turn ye from your evil ways and keep my commandments and my statutes according to all the law which I commanded your fathers, and which I sent to you by the hand of my servants the prophets '.<sup>1</sup> Here the expression ' commandments and statutes ' carries the law beyond the ' Ten Words ', and must mean an expanded form of it—to all seeming, the Torah.

Not only Rehoboam and Judah, but ' all Israel ', rejected the Torah. In the north Jeroboam strove to introduce his calf-worship and to bind the people to it. It is true that, unlike what was done in Judah, he got rid of the ' high places ' which were to prove such a stumbling block in the Southern Kingdom, for he turned them into dwelling houses and ' made priests from among all the people which were not of the sons of Levi '.<sup>2</sup> Thus in both North and South the Torah had been rejected. God's word, his ' commandments and statutes ', which had been accepted as such by ' all Israel ' and was their bond of union with one king, one capital, one Temple, had been spurned and set aside. But God's word cannot so lightly be disavowed and rejected. When given, it is given for all time. It does not become null and void. There were those, and particularly the group of prophets known to us as the eighth century prophets, interpreters of God's will and word, who realised the need for the restoration of the state both politically and religiously, the re-instatement of the Torah, and the return of the Lord to his Temple. It was to this end that those prophets in particular laboured. They strove to re-establish political unity by undermining the stability of the Northern Kingdom with a view to its eventual downfall and the removal of the greatest obstacle to the purpose they had in view. They sought out, aided and abetted revolutionaries in order to put in the place of its rulers men, who, as adherents of the Yahweh religion, would re-unite the two kingdoms. They had initial successes in a number of instances. Baasha exterminated the house of Jeroboam, but when he became ruler, he followed in the

<sup>1</sup> 2 Ki. xvii. 13.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Ki. xii. 31.

footsteps of Jeroboam. So Baasha's house was denounced by the prophet Jehu, the son of Hanani, whereupon Zimri, one of his chariot captains, assassinated him and exterminated his family. The Israelites, however, made Omri, the commander-in-chief of the army, king, and he triumphed to carry on the kingdom of Jeroboam. His son Ahab with queen Jezebel had to contend with Elijah. Hazael, at Elisha's instigation, slew Ben Hadad, king of Syria, and one of 'the sons of the prophets' on the command of Elisha anointed Jehu and started him on his rebellion against Joram leading to the extermination of Ahab's house. And so on. Yet it always happened that the men who rose to power in this way refused to take the other step, so essential for the restoration of unity, the renunciation of the throne of the Northern Kingdom in favour of a union with the South under a Davidic king. If it had been possible to thrash out anew the whole question of the monarchy, it might have been conceivably possible to get North and South together again. But that question was no longer in the melting pot and the attitude of the North continued to be 'What portion have we in David? Neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse. To your tents, O Israel'.<sup>1</sup> Men like Hosea, Amos, Micah strove to prove how depraved morally the Northern Kingdom in particular had become through abandonment of the Torah. 'Though I write for him (Ephraim) my Torah in a myriad copies they are accounted a strange thing'.<sup>2</sup> Israel was destined, however, to be without the Torah for a long period. As the prophet Azariah, son of Oded, said to Asa: 'For a long season Israel hath been without the true God, and without a teaching priest, and without Torah'.<sup>3</sup> It was at this prophet's instigation that Asa made an effort to restore the worship of Yahweh as it was at the time of the Disruption. For this purpose he gathered all Judah and Benjamin and those who 'sojourned' with them out of Ephraim and Manasseh and out of Simeon. Here was an attempt at re-union, but only with some elements of the North. With such limitations on the northern side it could

<sup>1</sup> 1 Ki. xii. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Hosea viii. 12. The usual interpretation of this is '10,000 precepts', which is surely not the meaning, since so many precepts would indeed make it a strange thing to those for whom they were intended.

<sup>3</sup> 2. Chr. xv. 2.

never be more than a partial success, but it earned for him the divine commendation in the view of later Jewish historians. A great opportunity came with the fall of the Northern Kingdom. The time for re-union would seem at long last to have arrived. Hezekiah, king of Judah, sent messengers throughout all Israel and Judah calling on the people to 'yield themselves unto the Lord and to enter into his sanctuary which he hath sanctified for ever'.<sup>1</sup> But the messengers met with a poor reception in the North. They were laughed to scorn and mocked. Yet some from Asher, Manasseh and Zebulon (although none apparently from Ephraim) humbled themselves and came to Jerusalem. Like the earlier attempt of Asa, that of Hezekiah had only a limited success.

It must not be supposed that these strivings after re-union were mere whims of the monarchs concerned. At the back of the efforts were the promptings of the religious officials, the priests and the prophets. If we read aright the fluctuating attitude of the monarchy to this question there would appear to have been a conflict of views, involving no doubt vested interests as well, within religious officialdom. There would be a Torah party and an anti-Torah party, or at least one that wished to maintain the cult as it had been re-organised and carried on since the abandonment of the Torah in the days of Rehoboam. With Hezekiah the Torah party was in the ascendant, but their opponents had evidently influenced his son Manasseh. After imprisonment in Babylonia, perhaps because of it, he seems to have attached himself to the Torah party. In other words, in the view of the later historians he repented and did much to compensate for his earlier conduct. His son Amon, however, remained under the anti-Torah influence, but a conspiracy brought about his death in his own house. His son Josiah then came to the throne at the early age of eight years. He would thus be made the target of conflicting interests, but the Torah party was evidently successful in securing him since at the age of sixteen he 'began to seek after the God of David his father, and turned not aside to the right hand nor to the left'.<sup>2</sup> It was appropriate that in his reign a famous copy of the Torah, as we have already observed presumably

<sup>1</sup> Chr. xxx. 8.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Chr. xxxiv. 2.



the standard copy which had been 'before the Priests, the Levites',<sup>1</sup> was discovered in the Temple, and was ceremoniously re-adopted as the law-code of a re-united Israel. The stir occasioned by its discovery was probably not due to the recovery of the text of the book. That could have been recoverable from the priests of Shechem who still held fast to the Torah, operative and only operable, as they always believed, from Shechem and not from Jerusalem. But Jerusalem could never have accepted and adopted a text from Shechem. Its authenticity would be altogether suspect. Only the recovery of the standard copy of the law could have created so much excitement.

The restoration of the Torah so triumphantly accomplished in the reign of Josiah was not destined to be permanent. After Josiah's untimely death the anti-Torah party again prevailed and his successors 'did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord' during their brief and inglorious reigns. And all the chiefs of the priests and the people 'polluted the house of the Lord which he had hallowed in Jerusalem. . . . They mocked the messengers of God and despised his words and scoffed at his prophets, until the wrath of the Lord rose against his people till there was no remedy'.<sup>2</sup> With the fall of Jerusalem the priesthood, with others of the nation, went into exile. They would carry with them their dissensions and divisions. This cleavage was exemplified in separate organisations of a Return. The first was the attempt under the high priest Joshua with the intention of making Zerubbabel, son of Shealtiel, governor of Judah, king. Zerubbabel was in the Davidic line. Joshua was the son of the last high priest in Jerusalem who was one of those men who 'did evil in the sight of the Lord'. What was evidently envisaged in this Return was an anti-Torah regime. It was different with the Ezra Return. We are told that 'Ezra had set his heart to seek the Torah of the Lord, and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments'.<sup>3</sup> Ezra was an inheritor of the Torah party tradition. He was a great grandson of that Hilkiah who was instrumental in the re-introduction of the Torah in the time of Josiah. The Zerubbabel party was offered co-operation in the rebuilding of the Temple by the Ephraimites presumably. The anti-Ephraimite bias of the

<sup>1</sup> Deut. xvii. 18.<sup>2</sup> 2 Chr. xxxvi. 14 ff.<sup>3</sup> Ezra vii. 10.

returning Jews is shown in their rejection of the offer, and that of the historians in the words they put into the mouths of these 'adversaries of Judah and Benjamin'. It is difficult to imagine Samaritans describing themselves to the Jews as 'sacrificing to your God since the days of Esarhaddon, who brought us up hither'.<sup>1</sup> One could hardly imagine a claim for recognition expressed in terms more damning and self-depreciatory. That these same terms express to the full the Jewish attitude to the Samaritans and indeed serve as justification for that attitude, is not without significance.

The Ezra party seems to have come back with no intention of restoring the monarchy. Rather was it harking back to the days of Samuel and the period of priestly leadership. It would almost appear as if Ezra and his associates had made up their minds that Judah, and if you will, Benjamin, were now all that counted and all that need be counted. The deportation of the Ten Tribes must in their eyes have been such as made their return impossible. Perhaps there was in this the birth of the idea, so widespread in later times, that the Ten Tribes were carried away to a region whence it was impossible for them to return.<sup>2</sup> The civil leadership in the state, which had ousted the religious at the time of Samuel, was now in turn to yield place to its predecessor. Samuel's edition of the Torah of Moses was to be brought again into operation, but no longer as the law-code of a united Israel. It was to be God's law for *all that was left* of Israel. Any association with Ephraimites (Samaritans) they rejected. In the Assyrian importations into the northern area they had a grand excuse for refusing to have any dealings with the northern territories, and they made the most of it. Judah with the addition of Benjamin was henceforth in their eyes to be esteemed the sole survivor of the Hebrew people and the sole inheritor of the divine promises. Salvation was to be sought in a holy, pure race of Jews. Marriages with foreigners, and particularly with the hated Samaritans, whom they now branded as foreigners, were not to be countenanced, and such as had taken place were to be

<sup>1</sup> Ezra iv. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See the writer's 'The Samaritans and the Sabbatic River', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xx (1936).

dissolved. An Israel sifted in this fashion, embarked on a new era with the Torah again as its law-code and priestly power in the ascendant.

From the foregoing it will be seen that next to the giving of the law through Moses, the giving of the 'Second Law' through Samuel was an event of the greatest importance to the Hebrews. This 'Second Law' was an evolution of the first law and was given through the divinely inspired Samuel whose assemblies, to all seeming gathered for that purpose, had manifestly God in their midst. Thus, God-controlled at every stage, it was still the same law to which the name of Moses was attached, the law of the Lord from Mt. Sinai. It gathered together the distilled legal wisdom of the years intervening since the time of Moses to clarify and re-constitute the relationship of God to his people. It marked not only progress in the interpretation of the divine will as expressed primarily in the 'Ten Words', but marked also a period in which there was unanimity and accord between Ephraim and Judah. It held together North and South until the days of Rehoboam. Hence any extraordinary alterations or additions to the text, as we have already remarked, must have been made after that period. The Samaritan and Jewish texts of the Pentateuch are substantially the same. The only variations which cannot be explained by the chances of text transmission in the manuscript period, are the tendentious changes made by either Jews or Samaritans, or, it may be both, to support the rival claims of Jerusalem and Shechem to be the religious centre chosen by God and his earthly habitation. That the enmity existing between the two could be strong enough to induce surreptitious modifications of the text accepted by both as God's word, is a measure of its intensity. The only common ground of Samaritan and Jew is the Pentateuch, the five books of Moses. The other writings, which have been attached to the Torah in later times to form the canon of the Old Testament as we now have it, have not been accepted by the Samaritans. In view of the mutual hostility, which has varied little down the years, it would be too much to expect that those all-Jewish writings are free from anti-Ephraim bias. And, indeed, they are not. The full effect of this bias on the Jewish presentation of Israel's past, has still to be



fully investigated. It may yet be found of no small importance in a final assessment of Old Testament history.

With only the Jewish presentation of Israelite history from which to form our estimate of the course of events, it becomes the more desirable to have the evidence from the Ephraimite side. Unfortunately its whole prospect is coloured adversely in the eyes of European scholars by the inadequacy of existing Samaritan literature, the present pitiable state of the surviving Samaritan community, combined with an unenviable reputation for narrow-mindedness and cupidity. The Jewish point of view, which certainly displays no fraternal love for the Samaritans, has always been accepted as true and unbiassed, and Samaritan contentions have been lightly dismissed as fabrications unworthy of either credence or attention. The Samaritans, however, would appear to have certain points in their favour which cannot be easily rejected or ignored. Their possession of Shechem and Mt. Gerizim from the earliest times is indisputable. They have an unchallengeable tradition of the possession of the Aaronite high priesthood by direct descent until relatively recent times when it died out.<sup>1</sup> Their Pentateuch is written in the ancient Hebrew script. This script was abandoned by Ezra in favour of the 'aššūrī, the form of Hebrew script with which we are familiar.<sup>2</sup> Their Pentateuch, also, is textually closer to the Septuagint (Greek) version, the earliest version of the Old Testament, than is the Masoretic text. There seems too, some evidence, if slight, that the Jews may have borrowed some of their genealogical lists from the Ephraimites. It is undoubted that the Samaritans suffered extensive losses of literature during the persecutions to which they were subjected more than once in the course of their troubled history. All the foregoing are considerations to which it is but reasonable that heed should be paid.

Western scholars place great weight on the dating of manuscripts. That is but right and proper, especially when manuscripts contain material which is the product of a particular age

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1625. From this time on the Samaritans ceased to use the title *hak-kōhēn haggādōl* for their chief priest, who has since then been known as *hak-kōhēn hal-lēwī*.

<sup>2</sup> It may have been that the change was made of set purpose in order to differentiate from the Samaritan.

and finds its justification and explanation from the authors' circumstances and environment, and the date of the author of any particular manuscript has to be determined from the contents. The date of a manuscript is, however, seldom the date of the author. This applies particularly to the genealogical lists and skeleton chronicles which form the basis of Israel's recorded history. The writer of a work on history is not ordinarily suspect of inventing his data. Yet one argument made against accepting Samaritan evidences is that the earliest dated manuscript of the Samaritan chronicles was one copied by one of their priests in the thirteenth century. That fact of itself does not prove that it was a fabrication of the writer. He would at least compile it from earlier works or from genealogical lists handed down. The Samaritan genealogical lists where they duplicate with the Jewish are clearly closely akin. Since they have been transmitted independently over a long period we must expect variations. They do exist although of a minor character. That either should have borrowed from the other since they went their separate ways is almost unthinkable. If there was any borrowing it is more likely that the Jews borrowed from the Ephraimites, who, with their Aaronite high priesthood at Shechem, the earliest religious centre of the Hebrews in Palestine, were more likely to have prior records.

It has been said that the idea is the controlling force in all human progress. The progress of the Hebrews down the ages has been swayed and dominated above all by the belief that their God had chosen them to be his own people in a very special sense. He was their guardian against foreign attack, and they looked to him to lead them to victory over their enemies. He had bound them to himself by covenant and their lives were regulated and controlled by him. For their guidance and regulation he had given them the 'Ten Words' by the hand of Moses. The legislative development of the 'Ten Words' partook of two forms, oral and written. The former represented the fluid, evolving law as applied to the multifarious cases for decision arising in the complexities of a life which had passed from the nomadic to the settled. The latter comprised the distillations from the former and consisted of legal generalisations which, after a prolonged

testing time, had graduated to the position of firm, unalterable law. From this latter the legalistic portions of the Torah were compiled. Brought together under divine inspiration through the medium of the prophet Samuel, the Torah became God's final written word to Israel. Its acceptance by all brought union and unanimity to an Israel rent and torn with dissension. It made an 'all Israel' not merely a desirability, but an actual fact. Its rejection after a relatively brief period was the outcome of the political disruption which sundered the monarchy and created a difficult and grave religious situation. From being a bond of union it became a bone of contention in religious circles. It appears to have divided the priesthood, in Judah especially, into its adherents and those who were opposed to its re-introduction. A struggle for power appears to have developed which affected the kingship and was no doubt one of the causes which brought Judah to exile. It did, however, lead eventually to the triumph of the adherents of the Torah, with Ezra as leader, in the Return.

Both the Ephraim-Judah hostility and the Torah have proved factors of moment in controlling the fortunes and shaping the destinies of the Hebrew tribes. The nature and extent of their influence are, I believe, still unappreciated. A just estimate will only be obtained through careful study and investigation.



## RECENT DISCOVERY AND THE PATRIARCHAL AGE <sup>1</sup>

BY HAROLD H. ROWLEY, M.A., D.D., THEOL.D., F.B.A.

PROFESSOR OF HEBREW LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN THE  
UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

IN the early years of the present century it was widely thought that the age of the patriarchs was lost beyond recovery. Whether they ever existed at all was sometimes doubted,<sup>2</sup> while at best they were held by some scholars to be no more than personifications of tribes,<sup>3</sup> whose history was reflected in these pseudo-personal narratives. The dictum of Wellhausen, that the patriarchal narratives could give us no knowledge about the times of the patriarchs but only about the later age in which they were written down,<sup>4</sup> was accepted as axiomatic in some quarters. To-day there are few who would defend these positions, and there is a more general respect for the historical quality of the stories.<sup>5</sup> This

<sup>1</sup> A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on 9th February, 1949.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, E. Tr., 1885, p. 320, where it said that Abraham 'might with more likelihood be regarded as a free creation of unconscious art'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the discussions of this question in S. R. Driver, *The Book of Genesis*, 1904, pp. lv ff., and J. Skinner, *Genesis*, 1910, pp. xix ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. J. Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, pp. 318 f. See also L. Wallis, *The Bible is Human*, 1942, p. 146: 'The patriarchal figures reflect the sociology and ideology which became standard in the central highlands during the epochs covered by the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings'. Similarly R. Weill attaches little historical value to the patriarchal narratives. Cf. 'La légende des patriarches et l'histoire', in *Revue des Etudes Sémitiques*, 1937, pp. 145-206.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. S. H. Hooke, *In the Beginning*, 1947, p. 62: 'The sagas of Genesis, while they throw light on the religious ideas of the writers who were using this material, also reflect in many ways the customs and social conditions of an age so far removed in time from that of the Hebrew historian who recorded them that he did not always understand what he was recording; so that we may believe him to have faithfully preserved much of the ancient tradition of his people in its early form'. Cf. also Hooke, in *Record and Revelation* (ed. by H. W. Robinson), 1938, p. 372: 'It is safe to say that the general effect of the discoveries of the last decade has been to confirm the substantial accuracy of the picture of life in Canaan in the second millennium B.C. as described in the patriarchal narratives of Genesis'; and H. G. May, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, lx, 1941, p. 113:

is not merely because a more conservative mood has descended upon Old Testament scholars, but because new light has been shed on the patriarchal age from many quarters. Sometimes there is a disposition to err on the other side, and to claim that the new sources of knowledge have proved the accuracy of the Old Testament narratives.<sup>1</sup> This is far from being the case, and it can serve no good purpose to make exaggerated and unprovable claims.<sup>2</sup> All that can be said is that in many respects the stories fit into the background of the age, as we can recover it from other sources of knowledge now available, and that customs which appear in the stories prevailed in the world in which the patriarchs are set. We have no direct reference in any other source to any incident in the lives of the patriarchs as recorded in the Bible; yet of the credibility of the Biblical record we have greater knowledge than was even quite recently available.

At the same time, it should not be forgotten that every advance in knowledge brings new problems, and not a few of the positions

'Absolute scepticism towards the patriarchal narratives as historical records is difficult to maintain to-day in the light of the materials contemporary with the patriarchal period made available as a result of archæological research.'

<sup>1</sup> In *The New Bible Handbook* (ed. by G. T. Manley), 1947, p. 79, it is said that 'to-day Sir Leonard Woolley tells us that the fact of Abraham's existence is "vouched for by written documents almost, if not quite, contemporary with him"'. What Woolley actually says (*Abraham: Recent Discoveries and Hebrew Origins*, 1936, p. 42) is that there are 'good grounds for believing that the fact of Abraham's existence *was* vouched for by written documents'. The words I have italicised indicate the perversion of Woolley's statement. What he argued was that it is probable that the authors of the Biblical narratives worked with older documents, long since lost (cf. pp. 259 ff.). Again, Sir Charles Marston (*The Bible Comes Alive*, 1937, pp. 44 f.) says: 'Sir Leonard Woolley's excavations at Ur of the Chaldees, where Abraham spent his youth, have proved that he lived in a city which had an advanced culture'. Actually they have produced not the slightest proof that Abraham lived in Ur at all. As will be seen below, I see no reason to doubt the Biblical statement that Abraham once lived in Ur; but it is a gross exaggeration to suggest that there is any external proof of this. Our sole evidence for the existence of Abraham, or for his residence in Ur, is to be found in the Bible.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. M. Burrows, *What Mean these Stones?* 1941, p. 2: 'More serious is the fact that writers fired by zeal without knowledge have rushed into print with inaccurate statements, doubtless intended for the glory of God but none the less misleading and therefore mischievous. . . . Reverence for the Bible cannot be permanently promoted by making claims on its behalf which will later prove untrue.'

taken by the defenders of tradition against the earlier views I have mentioned are in no less need of revision than the theories they combated. In the present lecture it is impossible to survey all the new knowledge or to look at all the new problems, and all that I can attempt is to give some illustration of the light that is shed on the Biblical narratives and the new difficulties created.

Between the two world wars archæological work throughout the Bible lands brought a bewildering amount of new material into our hands. Much of it is relevant to the discussion of other periods than that of the patriarchs, and will not call for mention here. The excavations at Ur<sup>1</sup> directed attention to the early narratives of Genesis and to the patriarch Abraham,<sup>2</sup> though sometimes the problems were screened and people imagined that the Ur excavations had proved that the Biblical story of the Flood was true<sup>3</sup> and had established Abraham as a figure of history.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Ur Excavations*, I: *Al-'Ubaid*, by R. H. Hall and C. L. Woolley, 1927; II: *The Royal Cemetery*, by C. L. Woolley, 1934; III: *Archaic Seal Impressions*, by L. Legrain, 1936; V: *The Ziggurat and its Surroundings*, by C. L. Woolley, 1939; *Ur Excavations. Texts*, I: *Royal Inscriptions*, by C. J. Gadd and L. Legrain, 1928; II: *Archaic Texts*, by E. Burrows, 1935. Also C. J. Gadd, *History and Monuments of Ur*, 1929, and *Ur of the Chaldees: a Record of Seven Years of Excavation*, 1929; C. L. Woolley, *The Excavations at Ur and the Hebrew Records*, 1929.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. C. L. Woolley, *Abraham: Recent Discoveries and Hebrew Origins*, 1936.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. G. Duncan, *New Light on Hebrew Origins*, 1936, p. 22: 'No one dreamed that the Bible story could ever receive such wonderful confirmation.' M. Burrows, *op. cit.*, p. 26, says: 'Perhaps the most conspicuous instance of confusing interpretation and evidence is the supposed confirmation of the biblical account of the flood discovered by Woolley at Ur and by Mackay and Langdon at Kish. . . . The excavators were convinced that they had found the deposit left by the flood described in Genesis. The fact is that this interpretation is not only uncertain; it is not even probable.' This judgment is supported by cogent reasons (p. 70): 'There is no evidence to connect the deposits of mud found at Ur and Kish with the particular flood of Genesis 6-9. . . . None of the inundations at Kish is contemporary with any at Ur, and none at either place marks a division between two different civilisations. In Woolley's own excavation at Tell Obeid, only four miles from Ur, there was no silt at the levels corresponding to those at which it was found at Ur. As a matter of fact, representations of Gilgamesh were found at a lower level than the "deluge" at Kish, showing that the Babylonian flood-story was of more ancient origin than this.'

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, p. 45, n. 1. G. E. Wright, *The Westminster Historical Atlas to the Bible*, 1945, p. 25 a, states the sober truth when he says: 'Thus far no contemporary record of Abraham has been found outside the Bible.' Cf. C. L. Woolley,



The period of Abraham was commonly believed, until the last few years, to have been about 2000 B.C., and he was thought to have been contemporary with Hammurabi, the great Babylonian king. The Patriarchal age was thought to extend from about 2000 B.C. to about 1700 B.C.<sup>1</sup> For reasons which will become apparent as we proceed, I want to extend our survey down to about 1400 B.C.

In 1926 the German Egyptologist Sethe published some execration texts from Egypt, which had been written on jars to be subsequently broken.<sup>2</sup> The texts contained the names of a number of Palestinian and Syrian states and their rulers, and the breaking of the jars had magical significance and was believed to be potent to ensure a curse on those whose names were inscribed.<sup>3</sup> The texts were probably written in the twentieth century B.C., and they give valuable information about the little states which existed in that period.<sup>4</sup> It became known just before the late war<sup>5</sup> that further texts of the same kind, though from a somewhat later date,<sup>6</sup> and differently inscribed and treated,<sup>7</sup> had been found, *The Excavations at Ur and the Hebrew Records*, 1929, p. 15: 'The name of Abraham has never yet occurred in our discoveries'; and pp. 15 f.: 'What we have found is illustrative of Hebrew tradition in a very general way.'

<sup>1</sup> The entry of Jacob into Egypt has been commonly assigned to the Hyksos period (circa 1730 B.C. to 1580 B.C.). Albright has connected the entry of the Hebrews with the entry of the Hyksos (cf. *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, 2nd ed., 1946, p. 150). In my view (cf. my Schweich Lectures, *From Joseph to Joshua*, now in the press) the entry must be brought down much later.

<sup>2</sup> C. K. Sethe, 'Die Ächtungstexte feindlicher Fürsten, Völker, und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefäßscherben des mittleren Reiches', in *Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1926, No. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. L. H. Vincent, *Vivre et Penser*, ii (replacing *Revue Biblique*, li), 1942, p. 206: 'Briser l'objet symbolique, ou ensevelir la figure conventionnelle auxquels on pouvait attacher ce nom individuel équivalait à la tuer elle-même, ou à sceller dans un tombeau.'

<sup>4</sup> On the date of these texts cf. A. Alt, *Zeitschrift der deutschen Palästina Vereins*, lxiv, 1941, p. 24; M. Noth, *ibid.*, lxx, 1942, p. 13; R. T. O'Callaghan, *Aram Naharaim*, 1948, p. 30 n.

<sup>5</sup> From G. Posener's paper read at the International Orientalists' Congress at Brussels in 1938—subsequently published in *Actes du xx<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Orientalistes*, 1940, pp. 82 f.—and from his essay on 'Nouveaux textes hiératiques de proscription', in *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud*, i, 1939, pp. 313-317.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. P. Posener, *Mélanges Syriens*, i, 1939, pp. 314, 315 f.; B. Couroyer, *Vivre et Penser*, i (replacing *Revue Biblique*, li), 1941, p. 260; M. Noth, *loc. cit.*, p. 191; R. T. O'Callaghan, *loc. cit.*

[See footnote 7 on page 48

though their publication did not take place until the war had begun, and it is only since the war that they have become available for study here.<sup>1</sup> Both series of texts have been much discussed, though some of the continental discussions of the second series are very hard of access in this country.<sup>2</sup>

Another accession to our knowledge between the wars, of outstanding importance, came from the ancient city of the kingdom of Arrapha, called Nuzu. This city lay east of the Tigris and south-east of Nineveh. It was excavated between 1935 and 1941 and yielded large numbers of texts, giving an intimate

<sup>1</sup> These texts were inscribed on small figurines instead of on jars, and many of them represent captives. From the fact that many were undamaged Posener suggested that they were intended for burial (*loc. cit.*, p. 316). Vincent, *loc. cit.*, p. 190, says: 'Le fait qu'un certain nombre de figurines sont à peu près intactes et qu'on ne relève sur aucune des "traces évidentes de mutilations intentionnelles" remet en cause l'hypothèse courante d'un massacre rituel.' It may be added that Posener has suggested the possibility that the texts were associated with a magic rite directed not merely against the actual enemies of the moment, but against potential enemies. Cf. *Actes du Congrès*, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Posener, *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie*, 1940.

<sup>2</sup> In addition to the works of Sethe and Posener mentioned above, the following are a few of the discussions of these texts that have appeared: R. Dussaud, 'Nouveaux renseignements sur la Palestine et la Syrie vers 2000 avant notre ère', in *Syria*, viii, 1927, pp. 216-231; W. F. Albright, 'The Egyptian Empire in Asia in the Twenty-first Century B.C.', in *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, viii, 1928, pp. 223-256; G. Posener, 'Une liste de noms propres étrangers sur deux ostraca hiératiques du nouvel empire', in *Syria*, xviii, 1937, pp. 183-197, and 'Nouvelles listes de proscription (Achtungstexte) datant du Moyen Empire', in *Chronique d'Égypte*, No. 27, Jan., 1939, pp. 39-46; R. Dussaud, 'Nouveaux textes égyptiens d'exécration contre les peuples syriens', in *Syria*, xxi, 1940, pp. 170-182; A. Alt, 'Herren und Herrensitze Palästinas im Anfang des zweiten Jahrtausends vor Chr.', in *Zeitschrift der deutschen Palästina Vereins*, lxiv, 1941, pp. 21-39; B. Couroyer, 'Les nouveaux textes égyptiens de proscription', in *Vivre et Penser*, i, 1941, pp. 261-264; M. Noth, 'Die syrisch-palästinische Bevölkerung des zweiten Jahrtausends v. Chr. in Lichte neuer Quellen', in *Zeitschrift der deutschen Palästina Vereins*, lxv, 1942, pp. 9-67; L. H. Vincent, 'Les pays bibliques et l'Égypte à la fin de la xii<sup>e</sup> dynastie égyptienne', in *Vivre et Penser*, ii, 1942, pp. 187-212; B. Maisler, 'Palestine at the Time of the Middle Kingdom in Egypt', in *Bulletin des Etudes Historiques Juives*, i, 1946, pp. 33-68. For some of these articles and for not a few of those noted below I am indebted to the kindness of continental scholars who have sent me copies of their works, often otherwise unobtainable here; in several cases where neither offprints nor copies of the journals could be sent I have received photostats of articles, either from the authors or from other scholars. I would acknowledge with gratitude the fine spirit of co-operation in scholarship I have found in so many quarters.

picture of social conditions in the city in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C.<sup>1</sup> Their importance to the student of the Old Testament lies partly in the illustration they provide of customs which figure in the patriarchal narratives, and partly in the new light they shed on the people known as the Habiru. From the Tell el Amarna letters we had long had knowledge of the activities of the Habiru in Palestine in the fourteenth century B.C., and by some scholars they had been identified with the invading Hebrews entering the land after the Exodus from Egypt.<sup>2</sup> From

<sup>1</sup> Of the very considerable literature dealing with these texts it must suffice to refer to the following: G. Contenau, 'Les tablettes de Kerkouk et les origines de la civilisation assyrienne', in *Babyloniaca*, ix, 1926, pp. 69-151, 157-212, and 'Tablettes de Kerkouk du Musée du Louvre', *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xxviii, 1931, pp. 27-39; C. J. Gadd, 'Tablets from Kirkuk', *ibid.*, xxiii, 1926, pp. 49-161; E. Chiera, *Inheritance Texts*, 1927, *Declarations in Court*, 1930, *Exchange and Security Documents*, 1931, *Proceedings in Court*, 1934, *Mixed Texts*, 1934 (Publications of the Baghdad School, vols. i-v); E. R. Lacheman, *Miscellaneous Texts*, 1939 (Publications of the Baghdad School, vol. vi); E. Chiera, *Texts of Varied Content*, 1929 (Harvard Semitic Series: Excavations at Nuzi, i); R. H. Pfeiffer, *The Archives of Shilwateshub Son of the King*, 1932 (Harvard Series: Nuzi, ii); T. J. Meek, *Old Akkadian, Sumerian and Cappadocian Texts from Nuzi*, 1935 (Harvard Series: Nuzi, iii); R. H. Pfeiffer and E. R. Lacheman, *Miscellaneous Texts from Nuzi*, 1942 (Harvard Series: Nuzi, iv); E. Chiera and E. A. Speiser, 'Selected "Kirkuk" Documents', in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, xlvii, 1927, pp. 36-60; E. A. Speiser, 'New Kirkuk Documents Relating to Family Laws', in *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, x, 1930, pp. 1-73; R. H. Pfeiffer, *One Hundred New Selected Nuzi Texts*, 1936 (*Annual of A.S.O.R.*, xvi); E. Porada, *Seal Impressions of Nuzi*, 1947 (*Annual of A.S.O.R.*, xxiv); C. H. Gordon, 'Fifteen Nuzi Tablets Relating to Women', in *Le Muséon*, xlviii, 1935, pp. 113-132, 'Parallèles nouziens aux lois et coutumes de l'Ancien Testament', in *Revue Biblique*, xlv, 1935, pp. 34-41, 'The Status of Women Reflected in the Nuzi Tablets', in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, xliii, 1936, pp. 147-169, 'The Dialect of the Nuzi Tablets', in *Orientalia*, N.S. vii, 1938, pp. 32-63, 215-232, and 'Biblical Customs and the Nuzi Tablets', in *The Biblical Archaeologist*, iii, 1940, pp. 1-12; D. Cross, *Movable Property in the Nuzi Documents*, 1937; E. M. Cassin, 'La caution à Nuzi', in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xxxiv, 1937, pp. 154-168, and *L'adoption à Nuzi*, 1938; E. R. Lacheman, 'Nuziana', in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xxxvi, 1939, pp. 81-95, 113-219, and 'Nuzi Geographical Names', in *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 78, April 1940, pp. 18-23, No. 81, Feb. 1941, pp. 10-14; F. R. Steele, *Nuzi Real Estate Transactions*, 1943; I. J. Gelb, P. M. Purves and A. A. MacRae, *Nuzi Personal Names*, 1943; N. Liebesny, 'The Administration of Justice in Nuzi', in *Journal of American Oriental Society*, lxiii, 1943, pp. 128-144.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. J. W. Jack, *The Date of the Exodus*, 1925, pp. 128 f., 143 f.; H. R. Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East*, 7th ed., 1927, p. 409; S. L. Caiger, *Bible and Spade*, 1936, pp. 102 f.; J. de Koning, *Studiën over de El-Amarnabrieven*, 1940, pp. 311 ff.



other quarters also we have new light on the Habiru question, which proves to be more complex than had been supposed.

Yet another site, which has yielded the most sensational finds of any excavated between the wars, is Ras Shamra, on the Syrian coast, opposite Cyprus.<sup>1</sup> This proved to be the site of the ancient city of Ugarit, mentioned in the Amarna texts,<sup>2</sup> and therefore already known, though little was known about it. Here a number of texts were found, of which those written in alphabetic cuneiform in what is believed to have been a Canaanite dialect<sup>3</sup> have attracted most attention. Many of the texts have been generally described as mythological, though it is held by some that they are cultic and ritual.<sup>4</sup> Of their importance for the study of the background of Israelite religion and culture I cannot speak here,<sup>5</sup> but we shall have to look at some views to which

<sup>1</sup> For a bibliography of more than five hundred titles dealing with these texts, and covering the years 1929-1938, cf. C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica*, 1939, pp. 147-203. This may be substantially supplemented by the bibliography in R. de Langhe, *Les textes de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et leurs rapports avec le milieu biblique de l'Ancien Testament*, i, 1945, pp. xvi-lvii.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. TA I : 39, 45 : 35, 89 : 51, 98 : 9, 126 : 6, 151 : 55 (Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, i, 1908, pp. 62 f., 310 f., 424 f., 446 f., 538 f., 624 f.).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. J. Cantineau, 'La langue de Ras Shamra', in *Syria*, xiii, 1932, pp. 164-169, xxi, 1940, pp. 38-61; W. F. Albright, 'Notes on the Language and Script of Ugarit', in *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, xiv, 1934, pp. 104-115, and 'Recent Progress in North Canaanite Research', in *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 70, April 1938, pp. 20-22; A. Goetze, 'The Tenses of Ugaritic', in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, lviii, 1938, pp. 266-309; Z. S. Harris, 'Expressions of the Causative in Ugaritic', *ibid.*, pp. 103-111, and *Development of the Canaanite Dialects*, 1939; C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Grammar*, 1940, revised and enlarged as *Ugaritic Handbook*, 1947; E. Hammershaimb, *Das Verbum im Dialekt von Ras Shamra*, 1941; R. de Langhe, *op. cit.*, i, 1945, pp. 263-330, and *De taal van Ras Sjamra-Ugarit*, 1948.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. S. H. Hooke, *The Origins of Early Semitic Ritual*, 1938; I. Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East*, 1943, pp. 97-173, and 'The Text II K from Ras Shamra', in *Horae Soederblomianae*, I, *Mélanges Johs. Pedersen*, i, 1944, pp. 1-20; F. F. Hvidberg, *Graad og Latter det Gamle Testamente*, 1938; J. Pedersen, 'Die Krt Legende', in *Berytus*, vi, 1941, pp. 63-105; T. H. Gaster, 'A Canaanite Ritual Drama', in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, lvi, 1946, pp. 49-76.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. J. W. Jack, *The Ras Shamra Tablets: their Bearing on the Old Testament*, 1935; J. de Groot, 'Ras Šamra en het Oude Testament', in *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux*, No. 3, 1935, pp. 97-99; D. Nielson, *Ras Šamra Mythologie und Biblische Theologie*, 1936; A. Jirku, 'Die Keilschrifttexte von Ras Šamra und das

currency has been given. Amongst these is the claim that the Hebrew God Yahweh figures in these texts, and that the father of Abraham is found here as a moon-god. Certain Israelite tribes are thought by some to be mentioned in a text to which geographical and historical significance is attached. One school has held that reflected in the texts we can find movements that occurred in the Negeb, in the south of Palestine, in the period before the entry of the Israelites into Canaan. Further, in a text published in 1940 there is important evidence bearing on the Habiru question, to which reference has already been made.

In 1935 the distinguished French archæologist, André Parrot, undertook excavations at Mari, an ancient city on the Euphrates,<sup>1</sup> somewhat farther north-west of Babylon, as the crow flies, than Nuzu lay directly north of Babylon. Here many thousands of tablets were found,<sup>2</sup> and important evidence was

Alte Testament', in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, lxxxix, 1935, pp. 372-386; R. de Vaux, 'Les textes de Ras Shamra et l'Ancien Testament', in *Revue Biblique*, xlv, 1937, pp. 526-555; R. Dussaud, *Les découvertes de Ras Shamra (Ugarit) et l'Ancien Testament*, 1937, 2nd ed., revised and enlarged, 1941; A. Bea, 'Ras Samra und das Alte Testament', in *Biblica*, xix, 1938, pp. 435-453; R. de Langhe, *Les Textes de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et leurs apports à l'histoire des origines israélites*, 1939, and *Les textes de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et leurs rapports avec le milieu biblique de l'Ancien Testament*, 2 vols., 1945; S. Mowinkel, 'Räs Sjamrā og det Gamle Testament', in *Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift*, xl, 1939, pp. 16-29; W. Baumgartner, 'Ras Schamra und das Alte Testament', in *Theologische Rundschau*, N.F. xii, 1940, pp. 163-188, xiii, 1941, pp. 1-20, 85-102, 157-183, and 'Ugaritische Probleme und ihre Tragweite für das Alte Testament', in *Theologische Zeitschrift*, iii, 1947, pp. 81-100; J. H. Patton, *Canaanite Parallels in the Book of Psalms*, 1944; H. L. Ginsberg, 'Ugaritic Studies and the Bible', in *The Biblical Archaeologist*, viii, 1945, pp. 21-58; W. F. Albright, 'The Old Testament and the Canaanite Language and Literature', in *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, vii, 1945, pp. 5-31; J. Coppens, *Les parallèles du Psautier et les textes de Ras Shamra-Ougarit*, 1946; E. Jacob, 'Les textes de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et l'Ancien Testament', in *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses*, xxvii, 1947, pp. 242-58.

<sup>1</sup> In *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, lii, 1935-36, pp. 43 f., I. J. Gelb entered an objection against the identification of Mari with Tell el Hariri.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., amongst many other works, A. Parrot, 'Les fouilles de Mari', in *Syria*, xvi, 1935, pp. 1-28, 117-140, xvii, 1936, pp. 1-31, xviii, 1937, pp. 54-84, xix, 1938, pp. 1-29, xx, 1939, pp. 1-22, xxi, 1940, pp. 1-28, and *Mari: une ville perdue*, 1936, new ed., 1945; H. Frankfort, 'Mari et Opis: essai de chronologie', in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xxxi, 1934, pp. 173-179; A. Parrot, 'La civilisation mésopotamienne', *ibid.*, pp. 180-189; F. Thureau-Dangin, 'Textes de Mari', *ibid.*,

brought to light bearing on ancient chronology.<sup>1</sup> From other sites, too, evidence on this subject has appeared,<sup>2</sup> and anything written before 1940 on the chronology of the first half of the second millennium B.C. is in need of revision.

It will be remembered that we read in the Bible that Abraham sprang originally from Ur,<sup>3</sup> and that his family first migrated from Ur to Harran in northern Mesopotamia, and later the patriarch left Harran for the land of Canaan.<sup>4</sup> It has long been known that Ur was the great centre of the worship of the moon-god Sin, and that Harran was second only in importance to Ur as a centre of worship of the same god. There would thus seem to have been some ancient connexion between these cities, so that it would not be unnatural for a family to leave the one city for the other.<sup>5</sup> Hence verisimilitude had long been allowed to the story, whether it was accepted as historical or not. More, however, cannot be said. We have no direct evidence for the migration outside the Bible itself, and so conservative a scholar as Albright has

xxxiii, 1936, pp. 169-179, 'Inscriptions votives de Mari', *ibid.*, xxxiv, 1937, pp. 172-176, and 'Tablettes hurrites provenant de Mari', *ibid.*, xxxvi, 1939, pp. 1-28; W. F. Albright, 'Western Asia in the Twentieth Century, B.C.: the Archives of Mari', in *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 67, Oct, 1937, pp. 26-30; G. Dossin, 'Les archives épistolaires du palais de Mari', in *Syria*, xix, 1938, pp. 105-126, 'Les archives économiques du palais de Mari', *ibid.*, xx, 1939, pp. 97-113, 'Benjaminites dans les textes de Mari', in *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud*, ii, 1939, pp. 981-996, and *Archives royales de Mari*, I, 1946; C. F. Jean, 'La langue des lettres de Mari', in *Revue des Etudes Sémitiques*, 1937, pp. 97-112, *Archives royales de Mari*, II, 1941, 'Lettres de Mari', in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xxxix, 1942-44, pp. 63-82, and 'Autres lettres de Mari', in *Revue des Etudes Sémitiques et Babyloniaca*, 1942-45, pp. 9-32; F. M. Th. Böhl, 'Brieven uit het archief van Mari', in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, i, 1944, pp. 55-58, 76-79, 101-105; G. E. Mendenhall, 'Mari', in *The Biblical Archaeologist*, xi, 1948, pp. 2-19.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, 'Iasmah-Adad', in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xxxiv, 1937, pp. 135-139; C. F. Jean, '"Hammurapi"' d'après des lettres inédites de Mari', *ibid.*, xxxv, 1938, pp. 107-114; W. F. Albright, 'An Indirect Synchronism between Egypt and Mesopotamia, c. 1730 B.C.', in *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 99, Oct. 1945, pp. 9-18.

<sup>2</sup> Especially from Atchana. Cf. S. Smith, 'A Preliminary Account of the Tablets from Atchana', in *The Antiquaries Journal*, xix, 1939, pp. 38-48, and *Alalakh and Chronology*, 1940.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xi. 28, 31, xv. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xii. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. P. (E.) Dhorme, 'Abraham dans le cadre de l'histoire', in *Revue Biblique*, xxxvii, 1928, pp. 367-385, 481-511; xl, 1931, pp. 364-374, 503-518.



suggested that the localisation of Abraham's home at Ur was secondary.<sup>1</sup>

On the question of the date of Abraham the whole discussion has been greatly changed by recent discoveries. A study of certain verses in the Old Testament, which gave the date of the Exodus in relation to the foundation of Solomon's Temple,<sup>2</sup> the date of the entry into Egypt in relation to the Exodus,<sup>3</sup> and the years of the patriarchs from the departure from Harran to the entry into Egypt,<sup>4</sup> would lead to the conclusion that the departure from Harran was to be dated *circa* 2092 B.C.<sup>5</sup> The only passage in the narratives about Abraham which seemed to offer any help in fixing his date in relation to world events was Gen. xiv, which tells how Amraphel of Shinar, Arioch of Ellasar, Chedorlaomer of Elam, and Tidal of Goim together came against Sodom and its neighbouring towns. It was a common assumption that Amraphel was to be identified with Hammurabi, the great king of Babylon, and this seemed to fit well into the scheme of Biblical chronology to which I have referred. For twenty-five years ago the *Cambridge Ancient History* gave as the date of Hammurabi 2123-2081 B.C.<sup>6</sup> The identification of Amraphel with Hammurabi was not without difficulties, however, and many scholars refused to accept it.<sup>7</sup> It is probable, as de

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, 2nd ed., 1946, p. 179. See also his *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, 1932, p. 209.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Kgs. vi. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ex. xii. 40. The Septuagint and the Samaritan text halve the length of the Sojourn in Egypt by the addition of some words in this verse, but the fact that they stand in different places in these texts is held by most scholars to be against their originality.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xii. 4, xxi. 5, xxv. 26, xlvii. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Reckoning the foundation of the Temple as *circa* 967 B.C. While there are slight differences of dating amongst scholars, few would go more than a decade from this date, either forwards or backwards.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, i, 2nd ed., 1924, p. 154. See also L. W. King, *History of Babylon*, 1919, pp. 106-111; Albright, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xviii, 1921, p. 94.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Albright, *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, i, 1921, pp. 70 f.; E. A. Speiser, *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, xiii, 1933, p. 45 n.; R. de Vaux, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, N.F. xv, 1938, p. 231; T. J. Meek, in *The Haverford Symposium on Archaeology and the Bible*, 1938, p. 184, n. 78; S. H. Hooke, *In the Beginning*, 1947, p. 72; R. T. O'Callaghan, *Aram Naharaim*, 1948, p. 31.

Vaux says,<sup>1</sup> that this identification only enjoyed such favour as it commanded because it appeared to place Abraham in the setting of world history.

The other names of the chapter were even more intractable. Arioch of Ellasar was held to be Rim Sin or Arad Sin of Larsa,<sup>2</sup> whose name might be written Eri-agu, and a late document containing the form Eri-aku was put forward, though there was no evidence to connect this individual with Larsa.<sup>3</sup> Chedor-laomer was believed to be Kudurlagamur, a possible Elamite name, though one which is not actually found. Moreover, though Babylon acknowledged the suzerainty of Elam at the time of Hammurabi's accession, he revolted against Elam, and difficulty was felt about the activity of Elam at this time so far in the west.<sup>4</sup> For Tidal it was even more difficult to suggest a suitable identification, until Böhl proposed to identify him with the Hittite king Tudḫalia.<sup>5</sup> This, however, led to an approach to the question

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Revue Biblique*, lv, 1948, p. 331.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. S. R. Driver, *The Book of Genesis*, 1904, p. 156, W. H. Bennett, *Genesis*, p. 187, and H. E. Ryle, *The Book of Genesis*, 1914, p. 167, where Arioch is identified with Rim Sin; H. Gunkel, *Genesis*, 1901, p. 256, where he is identified with Arad Sin, the brother of Rim Sin. Cf. J. Skinner, *Genesis*, 1910, p. 258, and O. Procksch, *Die Genesis*, 1924, p. 503.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Skinner, *loc. cit.* Many older scholars regarded Gen. xiv as itself of late origin, and of little historical worth. Cf. J. Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs*, 3rd ed., 1889, pp. 311-313; H. P. Smith, *Old Testament History*, 1911, p. 37; J. Morgenstern, *A Jewish Interpretation of the Book of Genesis*, 1920, p. 119 ('This is a legend pure and simple, without the slightest historical basis'). W. F. Albright formerly subscribed to this view (cf. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xxxvii, 1918, p. 136: 'The fourteenth chapter must be regarded. . . as a political pamphlet designed to strengthen the hands of the patriotic Jews who were supporting the rebellion of Zerubbabel against the Persian monarch. As we now know that Warad-Sin of Larsa, who, under the mask of Eriaku-Arioch, was long the comfort of the traditionalists, died about thirty years before Hammurabi-Amraphel acceded to the throne, the historical view has no foundation'), but later abandoned it (cf. *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, vi, 1926, p. 227: 'Gen. xiv is a genuine historical document, perhaps somewhat embellished with saga').

<sup>4</sup> Cf. S. A. Cook, in *Cambridge Ancient History*, i, 2nd ed., 1924, p. 236; F. M. Th. Böhl, *King Hammurabi of Babylon in the Setting of his Time*, 1946, p. 18.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. 'Tud'alia I, Zeitgenosse Abrahams, um 1650 v. Chr.' in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, N.F. i. 1924, pp. 148-153. In an earlier paper Böhl had identified Tidal with a later Tudḫalia, and so had come down even later. Cf. 'Die Könige von Genesis 14', *ibid.*, xxxvi, 1916, pp. 65-73.

from the other end. For the first Tudḫalia reigned in the seventeenth century B.C. Hence it was now suggested that Abraham belonged to that century,<sup>1</sup> and that the doubtful equation of Amraphel with Hammurabi should be abandoned.<sup>2</sup>

Hammurabi himself can no longer be dated at anything like the date I have already mentioned, however. One of the items of evidence which had led to the adoption of that date was the year formula of Ammiṣaduqa in terms of the risings and settings of the planet Venus. Ammiṣaduqa was the tenth monarch of the dynasty of which Hammurabi was the sixth king, and hence if the date of Ammiṣaduqa could be fixed, the date of Hammurabi would at the same time be determined. Elaborate astronomical calculations were made,<sup>3</sup> but by the nature of the case they could not by themselves fix the chronology. The same cycle of risings and settings of Venus recurs at long intervals, and hence these calculations could only fix the precise date when the approximate date was decided on other grounds.

For the approximate dating we now have several lines of evidence, which have come to light during the last twelve years. There was first evidence that Shamshi Adad I of Assyria was contemporary with the early part of the reign of Hammurabi,<sup>4</sup> while Shamshi Adad's approximate period can be fixed by the help of the Khorsabad King list, which was first published during the war.<sup>5</sup> A further general check came from the pottery brought to light at Mesopotamian sites, where some tablets of the time of Shamshi Adad I were found in levels that could be approximately dated at about three centuries earlier than other

<sup>1</sup> This date was advocated on different grounds by E. G. Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, 1918, p. 32; A. Jirku, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, xxxix, 1921, pp. 152-156, 313 f.; W. F. Albright, 'Shinar-Šangar and its Monarch Amraphel', in *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, xl, 1923-24, pp. 125-133.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. W. F. Albright, *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, i, 1921, pp. 70 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. S. Langdon and J. K. Fotheringham, *The Venus Tablets of Ammizaduga*, 1928.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, 'Iasmah-Adad', in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xxxiv, 1937, pp. 135-139.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. A. Poebel, 'The Assyrian King List from Khorsabad', in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, i, 1942, pp. 247-306, 460-492; ii, 1943, pp. 56-90.



levels which could be dated by evidence from Nuzu in the fifteenth century B.C.<sup>1</sup> Again the Mari evidence brought important material, amongst which may be mentioned the evidence that Zimri-lim, the king of Mari, was defeated by Hammurabi in the thirty-second year of his reign,<sup>2</sup> while there was some interlocking evidence from Ras Shamra, which led Schaeffer to suggest for Hammurabi an eighteenth or seventeenth century date.<sup>3</sup>

By all scholars such a date would now be agreed, though there is still a measure of disagreement as to the precise fixation of the regnal years of Hammurabi. In the year 1940, Sidney Smith<sup>4</sup> and Ungnad,<sup>5</sup> working quite independently on either side of the barrier created by the war, reached almost identical results. Sidney Smith dated Hammurabi 1792-1750 B.C.,<sup>6</sup> and Ungnad dated him one year later, 1791-1749 B.C. In the following year Neugebauer observed<sup>7</sup> that 'if historical evidence places Hammurabi around 1800, then the Venus observations require for his reign either the years 1792-1750 or an interval 56 (or even 64) years earlier or later'. In the following year, 1942, Albright moved down the sixty-four years later, and argued for the date

<sup>1</sup> Cf. M. B. Rowton, 'Mesopotamian Chronology and the "Era of Menophres"', in *Iraq*, viii, 1946, pp. 94-110.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, 'Sur les étiquettes de paniers à tablettes provenant de Mâri', in *Symbolae Paulo Koschaker dedicatae*, 1939, pp. 119 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica*, 1939, p. 18 n.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Alalakh and Chronology*, 1940. See also the same writer's 'A Preliminary Account of the Tablets from Atchana', in *The Antiquaries Journal*, xix, 1939, pp. 38-48, and 'Middle Minoan I-II and Babylonian Chronology', in *American Journal of Archaeology*, xlix, 1945, pp. 1-24.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Die Venustafeln und das neunte Jahr Samsuilunas*, 1940. Similarly Hrozný, *Histoire de l'Asie Antérieure*, 1947, pp. 121, 125.

<sup>6</sup> In *The Journal of the British Astronomical Association*, lvii, 1947, p. 208, A. G. Shortt criticises the astronomical argument of Brigadier-General J. W. S. Sewell, on which Smith relied, and claims that Fotheringham would not have agreed with Sewell's results. This not only leaves all other considerations out of account, but takes no account of criticisms of Fotheringham's results (cf. O. Neugebauer, 'Zur Frage der astronomischen Fixierung der babylonischen Chronologie', in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, xxxiii, 1929, cols. 913-21, 'Chronologie und babylonischen Kalender', *ibid.*, xlii, 1939, cols. 403-14), or of other recent discussions of the astronomical side of the problem (cf. the works cited in the preceding and following notes).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, lxi, 1941, p. 59.

1728-1686 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Again, by a surprising coincidence, in the same year there was published in Germany a completely independent study along entirely different lines, reaching the same conclusion as Albright.<sup>2</sup> While there is no final agreement as to which of these two dates is correct, there can be little doubt to-day that Hammurabi must be brought down to one or other of them, and that his reign belonged to the eighteenth century B.C., if not to the seventeenth, and more probably the latter.<sup>3</sup>

This means that if Amraphel is identified with Hammurabi and Abraham is made contemporary with Hammurabi of Babylon, those chronological verses of the Old Testament to which I have referred must be given up. Actually there is other chronological material in the Bible which cannot be reconciled with them,<sup>4</sup> and the historical value of the traditions is in no sense dependent on the chronological framework in which they are set. It is probable, however, that just as the equation of Amraphel with Hammurabi has been clung to in the past by defenders of the Biblical

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 'New Light on the History of Western Asia in the Second Millennium B.C.', in *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 77, Feb. 1940, pp. 20-32; No. 78, April 1940, pp. 23-31.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. F. Cornelius, 'Berossus und die altorientalische Chronologie', in *Klio*, xxxv, 1942, pp. 1-16.

<sup>3</sup> Of many recent discussions of this question the following may be noted: O. Neugebauer, 'The Chronology of the Hammurabi Age', in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, lxi, 1941, pp. 58-61; F. Weidner, 'Die Königsliste aus Chorsabad', in *Archiv für Orientforschung*, xiv, 1941-44, pp. 362-369; F. Thureau-Dangin, 'La chronologie de la première dynastie babylonienne', in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, xliii, 2e partie, 1942, pp. 229-258; P. van der Meer, 'Chronologie der assyrisch-babylonische Königen', in *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux*, ix, 1944, pp. 137-145, *The Ancient Chronology of Western Asia and Egypt*, 1947, and 'At What Time has the Reign of Menes to be placed?' in *Orientalia Neerlandica*, 1948, pp. 23-49; W. F. Albright, 'An Indirect Synchronism between Egypt and Mesopotamia, circa 1730 B.C.', in *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 99, Oct. 1945, pp. 9-18, and *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, v, 1948, pp. 125-127; F. M. Th. Böhl, *King Hammurabi of Babylon in the Setting of his Time*, 1946; C. Kern, 'Primum monumenta, deinde chronologia', in *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux*, x, 1945-48, pp. 481-490; R. T. O'Callaghan, *Aram Naharaim*, 1948, pp. 6-11; S. N. Kramer, 'New Light on the Early History of the Ancient Near East', in *American Journal of Archaeology*, lii, 1948, pp. 156-164; R. de Vaux, *Revue Biblique*, lv, 1948, pp. 328-336; J. Vernet, 'La cronologia de la primera dinastia babilonica', in *Sefarad*, viii, 1948, pp. 428-434.

<sup>4</sup> I discuss these passages in my forthcoming Schweich Lectures.

chronology, in the future this always doubtful equation will be rejected by them.

We now know that there were three, if not four, approximately contemporary kings who bore the name Hammurabi.<sup>1</sup> There was a Hammurabi ruling in Aleppo, and another in Kurda, and some scholars have recently argued that if Amraphel is to be identified with any one of them, it should be with the king of Aleppo.<sup>2</sup> It is, however, significant that while all our evidence is doubtful, such as it is it seems to be steadily pointing to the seventeenth century B.C. for the period indicated by Gen. xiv. 1. If Albright's date for Hammurabi is accepted—and he has produced an interesting supporting argument for it in the form of a Mari reference to a prince of Byblos named Yantin-ḥamu, who is probably to be equated with one Entin referred to in an Egyptian inscription which is to be dated 1740-1720 B.C.<sup>3</sup>—then part of his reign fell in the seventeenth century B.C., to which the Hittite king Tudḥalia I belonged. Böhl, who prefers to identify Amraphel with Amut-pi-el, the king of Qatna,<sup>4</sup> has suggested that Arioch is to be equated with Arriwuk the son of Zimri-lim of Mari,<sup>5</sup> who again would belong to the same century. For Chedorlaomer Albright now proposes the identification with the Elamite king Kuter-Nabḥunte,<sup>6</sup> whose reign would fall, however, towards the

<sup>1</sup> For the fourth cf. *Actes du xx<sup>e</sup> Congrès international des Orientalistes*, 1940, pp. 116 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. F. M. Th. Böhl, *King Hammurabi of Babylon*, 1946, p. 17; J. J. Dougherty, *Scripture*, iii, 1948, p. 99.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 99, Oct. 1945, pp. 9-18.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *King Hammurabi of Babylon*, pp. 17 f. Böhl thinks Amur-pi-el is a possible corruption of Amut-pi-el, and Dougherty (*loc. cit.*) is inclined to agree. O'Callaghan (*Aram Naharaim*, 1948, p. 31 n.) is more doubtful, finding the suggestion attractive but hazardous, while C. F. Jean (*Bibliotheca Orientalis*, v, 1948, p. 128) is more critical, and finds it hard to accept the shift from Amut-pi-el to Amur-pi-el. It may be added that Gelb had earlier thought Aleppo a more likely home for Amraphel than Babylon (cf. *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, liii, 1936-37, pp. 253 ff.), while twenty-five years ago Albright had thought of northern Mesopotamia as a more likely home (cf. *ibid.*, xl, 1923-24, pp. 125 ff.).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *King Hammurabi of Babylon*, 1946, p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 88, Dec. 1942, pp. 33-36; R. T. O'Callaghan, *Aram Naharaim*, 1948, p. 31; R. de Vaux, *Revue Biblique*, lv, 1948, p. 334. While this paper has been in the press, Albright's *Archaeology of Palestine*, 1949, has appeared, from which it would



end of the seventeenth century B.C., and therefore later than Hammurabi's. Albright does not accept the identification of Amraphel with Hammurabi, but relies on this identification of Chedorlaomer to bring down Abraham to a date late in the seventeenth century B.C., after the time of Hammurabi. While I recognise that no one of these identifications is conclusive, and reserve is necessary at every point, it does seem to be significant that such evidence as we have to-day seems to be pointing to the seventeenth century B.C., and mainly to the first half of that century.<sup>1</sup>

Abraham is called 'the Hebrew' in the Bible, and this name has long been associated with the name Habiru which is found in the Amarna letters. In those letters, written in the fourteenth century B.C. from the Palestinian princes to the Egyptian chancellery, we find appeals for help against people who are called by the ideogram SA-GAZ in many of the letters, but by the name Habiru in the letters of Abdi-Hiba, the king of Jerusalem. The equation of the names Habiru and Hebrews is not quite so simple as it seems to the English reader, and it has always been opposed by a number of scholars.<sup>2</sup> Others claimed that not only were the names to be equated, but that the Amarna letters gave us the story of the entry of the Israelites under Joshua after the Exodus from Egypt.<sup>3</sup> It is a curious fact that while the Bible speaks of Hebrews before the descent into Egypt and during the sojourn in Egypt, it never uses the term in connexion with the people who were brought out of Egypt by Moses and who entered the land under Joshua. There are

seem that Albright has tacitly abandoned this view, since he now (p. 83) says 'In the writer's present opinion the Terachid movement from Ur to Haran and westward may have taken place in the twentieth and nineteenth centuries.'

<sup>1</sup> As observed in the preceding note Albright has now withdrawn from his view on the chronology of Abraham. He now declares (*op. cit.*, p. 237) that 'Genesis xiv remains an enigma which only the future can solve'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. F. Hommel, in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, i, 1898, p. 228 a; P. (E.) Dhorme, *Revue Biblique*, N.S. vi, 1909, pp. 68 f., and *L'évolution religieuse d'Israel, I: La religion des Hébreux nomades*, 1937, pp. 79 ff.; E. G. Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, 1918, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. J. W. Jack, *The Date of the Exodus*, 1925, p. 143; A. H. Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East*, 7th ed., 1927, p. 409; S. L. Caiger, *Bible and Spade*, 1936, pp. 102 f.

some later references to Hebrews at the time of the Philistine oppression and the foundation of the monarchy, but none in connexion with the Settlement in Canaan. This would be curious if the Amarna letters gave the story of their entry under Joshua.

From Egyptian sources we had references to some people called 'Aperu,<sup>1</sup> who were set to hard labour, and these again were identified by some with the Hebrews in Egypt. There was a reference to 'Aperu in a text which told of the activity of Thothmes III in Palestine, but the text itself is of a later date and is not regarded as a historical source.<sup>2</sup> Other texts, of a historical character, came from the reigns of Seti I and Rameses II, and even later, and since on the view that the Amarna letters give the story of the entry into Palestine after the Exodus, all of these come from a time after the Exodus from Egypt, the equation of 'Aperu with Hebrews has been denied by some of those who have stoutly maintained the equation of Habiru with Hebrews.<sup>3</sup>

Here again we have more evidence to-day than we had but a few years ago. Between the wars further mention of the 'Aperu was found at Bethshan, in the Jordan valley.<sup>4</sup> We now know that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. F. Heyes, *Bibel und Ägypten*, i, 1904, pp. 146 ff.; S. R. Driver, *The Book of Exodus*, 1911, pp. xli f.; A. Jirku, *Die Wanderungen der Hebräer*, 1924, pp. 23 ff.; J. A. Wilson, 'The 'Eperu of the Egyptian Inscriptions', in *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, xlix, 1923-33, pp. 275-280; B. Gunn, *apud* E. A. Speiser, *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, xiii, 1933, p. 38; T. J. Meek, *Hebrew Origins*, 1936, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jirku, *op. cit.*, p. 24: 'An erster Stelle, weil uns dieselbe noch nach Palästina führt, ist da eine Angabe aus einem geschichtlichen Romane zu nennen, der van der Eroberung der palästinensischen Stadt Jaffa durch Thutmosis III handelt.'

<sup>3</sup> Cf. K. Miketta, *Der Pharao des Auszuges*, 1903, p. 55; A. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, iv, 1906, p. 150 n.; F. M. Th. Böhl, *Kanaanäer und Hebräer*, 1911, p. 83.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. A. Rowe, *The Topography and History of Beth-shan*, 1930, pp. 29 f. It has been frequently and unwarrantably stated that at Bethshan an inscriptional reference to the 'Aperu as being engaged on the building of Pi-Ramesse in the time of Rameses II was found. Cf. C. S. Fisher, *Museum Journal of the University of Pennsylvania*, xiv, 1923, p. 234; L. H. Vincent, *Revue Biblique*, xxxiii, 1924, p. 429 n.; H. R. Hall, *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1925, p. 117; J. W. Jack, *The Date of the Exodus*, 1925, p. 22; J. N. Schofield, *The Historical Background of the Bible*, 1938, facing p. 110. Cf. A. Rowe, 'The Two Royal Stelae of Beth-shan', in *Museum Journal of the University of Pennsylvania*, xx, 1929, pp. 88-98.

there were 'Aperu in the Transjordan in the time of Seti I, and that they were engaged in fighting, though there are obscurities in the text and it is not certain on whose side they were fighting.<sup>1</sup> Six years ago a further reference to no less than 3600 'Aperu prisoners who were taken by Amenhotep II in fighting in Palestine became known.<sup>2</sup> At this time, if the Biblical chronology is correct, and if the view that the Amarna letters tell of Joshua's campaign after the Exodus is correct, the Hebrews ought to have been wandering in the wilderness and not fighting in Palestine.

Again in 1940 a Ras Shamra text was published which offered evidence for the equation of the names 'pru and SA-GAZ.<sup>3</sup> Since we already had Hittite evidence which made it plain that the terms Habiru and SA-GAZ referred to the same people, it now became clear that 'pru and Habiru should be equated. It was at once claimed, however, that Habiru could no longer be connected with Hebrews.<sup>4</sup> For the word written Habiru could be read Hapiru, and it was claimed that the new evidence meant that it should be so read, and the apparent connexion with Hebrews be accordingly weakened. Actually, it is once more not quite so simple as that, and the equation of both Habiru and 'Aperu with Hebrews is still possible, though it is not, and never has been, very secure.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. W. F. Albright, *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, vi, 1926, p. 36 n.; A. Mallon, *Biblica*, vii, 1926, p. 109; B. Grdseloff, *Bulletin des Etudes Historiques Juives*, i, 1946, p. 77 n.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. M. Badawi, *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, xlii, 1943, pp. 21 ff. See also B. Grdseloff, *Bulletin des Etudes Historiques Juives*, i, 1946, p. 75; A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, i, 1947, p. 184\* n.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. E. G. Kraeling, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 77, Feb. 1940, p. 32; Ch. Virolleaud, *Syria*, xxi, 1940, pp. 125 (II : 7), 132 (VIII : 1), 134 (X : 12), 143, and *Revue des Etudes Sémitiques et Babyloniaca*, 1940, pp. 74-76; J. W. Jack, *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 1940, p. 97; R. de Vaux, *Revue Biblique*, lv, 1948, pp. 339 f.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ch. Virolleaud, *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 1939, p. 329; E. G. Kraeling, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the present writer's 'Ras Shamra and the Habiru Question', in *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 1940, pp. 90-94; 'Habiru and Hebrews', *ibid.*, 1942, pp. 41-53. See also J. W. Jack, 'New Light on the Hābirū-Hebrew Question', *ibid.*, 1940, pp. 95-115; and on the other side, E. G. Kraeling, 'The Origin of the Name "Hebrews"', in *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, lviii, 1941, pp. 237-253.



Evidence from the Nuzu texts brought a much greater complication into the discussion of this question. For there a number of references to Ḥabiru or Ḥapiru are found. Many of them are described as voluntary slaves, and the term by which they are called appears to have a social rather than an ethnic connotation.<sup>1</sup> It is then observed that in the Pentateuch we have legislation that required a Hebrew slave to be set free after six years of service, unless he voluntarily chose to remain in his master's service.<sup>2</sup> Further, there is a nuance of depreciation about most of the uses of the word Hebrews in the Old Testament. Hence, it is claimed, the word had reference primarily to status and not to race, and in so far as it ever has a racial meaning, that is a secondary development in Israel, where it became associated with their national consciousness.<sup>3</sup> On the whole it seems to me more likely that the term began with a racial significance which it lost in such a community as that of Nuzu, where large numbers of them sank into a condition of slavery, until their name became used for their class, whether members of their race or not. In the same way in the Roman world the term Chaldaean, originally of racial significance, came to mean a soothsayer because numbers of soothsayers came from the east.

It is of importance to observe, however, that not all the Ḥabiru of the ancient world were in Palestine. The name is found in Babylonia as well as in Nuzu,<sup>4</sup> and if Ḥabiru and 'Aperu are identified, also in Egyptian and Ras Shamra texts, as has been said. It is therefore of much wider significance than to denote

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. A. Speiser, *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, xiii, 1933, p. 35. Cf. also E. Chiera, 'Ḥabiru and Hebrews', in *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, xlix, 1932-33, pp. 115-124; J. Lewy, 'Ḥābirū and Hebrews', in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, xiv, 1939, pp. 587-623, 'A New Parallel between Ḥābirū and Hebrews', *ibid.*, xv, 1940, pp. 47-58.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. J. Lewy, *ibid.*, xiv, 1939, p. 609, xv, 1940, pp. 47 ff.; C. H. Gordon, *The Biblical Archaeologist*, iii, 1940, p. 12; R. de Vaux, *Revue Biblique*, lv, 1948, p. 343.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. E. A. Speiser, *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, xiii, 1933, p. 37; E. G. Kraeling, *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, lviii, 1941, p. 246.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. V. Scheil, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xii, 1915, pp. 114 f.; A. Jirku, *Die Wanderungen der Hebräer*, 1924, pp. 14 ff.; E. Chiera, *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, xlix, 1932-33, pp. 115 ff.

the Israelite people in certain periods of their history. This, however, is in full accord with what we read in the Bible. For Eber is the eponymous ancestor of the Hebrews, who therefore include more than Abraham and his descendants through Isaac and Jacob.<sup>1</sup> Some were left in Babylonia when Terah migrated with his family, and some were left in northern Mesopotamia when Abraham migrated from Harran. The putting of the Habiru in a much wider context by archaeological discoveries, therefore, is not an embarrassment to the Biblical student.

If, however, Abraham is placed in the seventeenth century B.C., and it is held that he migrated from Harran to Palestine in that age, there is no room for all the period that separated him from the Exodus if the Exodus is placed in the fifteenth century B.C. Albright associates Jacob and the entry into Egypt with the establishment of the Hyksos power there<sup>2</sup> about 1730 B.C.,<sup>3</sup> and since he puts Abraham about a century later than this,<sup>4</sup> he would seem to reverse their order.<sup>5</sup> This seems to me very doubtful, and I think it is more probable that the age of Jacob should be brought down much lower to the Amarna age. Instead, therefore, of finding the campaigns of Joshua reflected in the Amarna letters, I find that age to provide the appropriate setting for a number of the incidents recorded in the book of Genesis, dealing with the time before the entry into Egypt.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xi. 16 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, i, 1921, pp. 65 f.; *Journal of the Society for Oriental Research*, x, 1926, p. 268; *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 58, April 1935, p. 15; *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, xv, 1935, p. 227; *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, 2nd ed., 1946, p. 150.

<sup>3</sup> This is the date usually given for the establishment of the Hyksos. Cf. K. Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, lxx, 1930, p. 88; R. M. Engberg, *The Hyksos Reconsidered*, 1939, p. 9; E. Drioton and J. Vandier, *Les peuples de l'Orient méditerranéen*, II: *L'Égypte*, 1946, pp. 282 f. Albright, however, who formerly dated it circa 1675 B.C. (cf. *Journal of the Society for Oriental Research*, x, 1926, p. 268), dates it 1720 B.C. (cf. *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, xv, 1935, pp. 225 f.). With this latter date cf. H. Stock, *Studien zur Geschichte und Archäologie der 13. bis 17. Dynastie Ägyptens*, 1942, p. 70, where the beginning of the Hyksos period is placed at 1720-1710 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 88, 1942, pp. 35 f.

<sup>5</sup> In *The Archaeology of Palestine*, 1949, which was published since this article was in type, it is made clear that Albright no longer reverses the order of Abraham and Jacob, since he now abandons the late date for Abraham (p. 83).

<sup>6</sup> See my forthcoming Schweich Lectures.

It has long been known that one of the Hyksos leaders was named Jacob-hr or Jacob-el,<sup>1</sup> and another Jacob-baal, and it has been improbably suggested that they were named after the patriarch Jacob.<sup>2</sup> Such a view would seem to be ruled out if Abraham is to be placed in the period of the Hyksos decline. Further, it has been known for more than half a century that there are Egyptian references coming from *circa* 1479 B.C. to Palestinian place-names Jacob-el and Joseph-el,<sup>3</sup> though the latter name is but doubtfully so read.<sup>4</sup> There is no reason whatever to suppose that any of these names had anything to do with the Biblical characters. We have already seen that there were at least three contemporary kings named Hammurabi, and there is no reason why more than one person should not bear the name Jacob or Joseph, or why the place-names should not be connected with a non-Biblical holder of the name. It would in any case be surprising for Joseph, who was carried into Egypt while still a youth, to have left his name in a Palestinian place-name during the period of the sojourn in Egypt; and even on the earliest chronology the year 1479 B.C. would fall within the period of the Egyptian sojourn.<sup>5</sup>

These are not the only Israelite names which are found in non-Biblical texts of the period we are studying, according to the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. R. Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East*, 7th ed., 1927, p. 217; H. Stock, *op. cit.*, p. 67; Albright reads Ya'kob-hr, which he interprets as: May the mountain god protect (cf. *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, 2nd ed., 1946, p. 184). Cf. R. de Vaux, *Revue Biblique*, liii, 1946, p. 324.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. J. W. Jack, *The Date of the Exodus*, 1925, p. 231.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. A. Mariette, *Les listes géographiques des pylones de Karnak*, 1875, pp. 36, 40; A. Jirku, *Die ägyptischen Listen palästinensischer und syrischer Ortsnamen*, 1937, pp. 14 f. The former name is found again in a list of the time of Rameses II, and the latter in a later list (cf. Jirku, *op. cit.*, pp. 38, 50).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. C. F. Burney, *Israel's Settlement in Canaan*, 3rd ed., 1921, pp. 89 f.; H. Gressmann, *EYXAPIETHPION* (Gunkel Festschrift), i, 1923, p. 4; J. W. Jack, *The Date of the Exodus*, 1925, p. 231. The equation of the names is defended by H. F. Heyes, *Bibel und Ägypten*, i, 1904, pp. 104 f., following W. M. Müller, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, ii, 1899, cols. 396 ff.

<sup>5</sup> It is true that the view of Josephus (*Contra Apionem*, i, 16 (103)), that the Exodus is to be identified with the expulsion of the Hyksos, has found some modern following (cf. H. R. Hall, *Cambridge Ancient History*, i, 2nd ed., 1924, p. 311, and *The Ancient History of the Near East*, 7th ed., 1927, pp. 213 n., 408 n.; A. H. Gardiner, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, v, 1918, pp. 36 ff., xix, 1933, p. 122 ff.). But it is decisively rejected by the great majority of scholars.



view of some scholars. Leaving out of account the name Abram, which is found in Babylonia, where no one connects it with the Biblical patriarch,<sup>1</sup> and the name Israel, which is doubtfully claimed to be found on a cylinder from the period of Agade,<sup>2</sup> where again it could not possibly refer to the Biblical Israel, we may note that in Mari texts there are references to Benjamites,<sup>3</sup> and it has been suggested that they are to be connected with the Biblical Benjamites.<sup>4</sup> This does not seem very likely.<sup>5</sup> The name Benjamin means 'son of the south', and there is no reason why it should not be given to tribes in more than one locality. In Mari we find the corresponding name 'sons of the north'. If the Mari Benjamites should be connected with the Biblical Benjamites, then the tribe was in existence already at about 2000 B.C., and therefore earlier than the birth of Benjamin on any Biblical chronology. Further, in the Biblical story Benjamin is said to have been born in Palestine, after Jacob's return from Laban, and never to have been in Mesopotamia at all. Clearly the tribe carried no memory of any history of theirs stretching back to the period before their entry into Palestine.

In the earlier collection of execration texts from Egypt, assigned to the twentieth century B.C., the name 'Ijsipj stands,<sup>6</sup> while in the collection that probably comes from the following century a similar name 'Isipi is found.<sup>7</sup> Dussaud identifies both of them with the already mentioned Joseph-el,<sup>8</sup> but other scholars

<sup>1</sup> Cf. W. F. Albright, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, liv, 1935, p. 194; R. de Vaux, *Revue Biblique*, liii, 1946, p. 323.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. V. Scheil, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xii, 1916, pp. 5 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. G. Dossin, 'Benjaminites dans les textes de Mari', in *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud*, ii, 1939, pp. 981-996. See also Dossin, *Syria*, xix, 1938, pp. 111 n., 116 n.

<sup>4</sup> So A. Parrot (cf. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, lxvi, 1947, p. xxviii). A. Alt, *Palästina-jahrbuch*, xxxv, 1939, p. 52, allows for the possibility of this connexion. Cf. also G. Dossin, in *Mélanges Syriens*, ii, p. 996.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. A. Pohl, *Biblica*, xx, 1939, p. 20; W. F. Albright, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, lviii, 1939, p. 102; J. J. Dougherty, *Scripture*, iii, 1948, p. 100; R. de Vaux, *Revue Biblique*, liii, 1946, p. 344.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. K. Sethe, *Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1926, No. 5, pp. 54 f., 58.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. G. Posener, *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie*, 1940, p. 71.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Syria*, viii, 1927, p. 231, xxi, 1940, p. 172.

are unconvinced.<sup>1</sup> If Dussaud is right, we should still not be able to connect the name with the Biblical Joseph, who on any chronology was not born until after the date of the earlier of these texts.

Similarly, in the Posener collection of execration texts, which was published in 1940, the name of Simeon has been found by some scholars,<sup>2</sup> though the identification is denied by others.<sup>3</sup> Once more we should have to recognise, if the identification were established, that the Simeon referred to could with little probability be connected with the Biblical Simeon. In the Sethe collection, coming from an even earlier date, the name of Zebulun has been found,<sup>4</sup> and here Albright accepts the identification of the name.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, he denies the claim to find the name of Zebulun in the Ras Shamra texts.

Both Asher and Zebulun are alleged to occur there,<sup>6</sup> though for the former Albright finds a verb meaning 'march'<sup>7</sup> and Ginsberg the meaning 'after',<sup>8</sup> while for the latter Albright finds the meaning 'patricians'<sup>9</sup> and Ginsberg 'sickness'.<sup>10</sup> The view of Albright has a substantial following,<sup>11</sup> and it is clear that the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. W. F. Albright, *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, viii, 1928, p. 249. L. H. Vincent, *Vivre et Penser*, ii, 1942, p. 195, thinks 'Isipt has the value of a divine name.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Posener, *Princes et pays*, p. 91. Cf. also Posener, *Syria*, xviii, 1937, p. 191; *Chronique d'Egypte*, No 27, Jan. 1939, p. 44; and L. H. Vincent, *Vivre et Penser*, ii, 1942, pp. 200 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. A. Alt, *Zeitschrift der deutschen Palästina Veriens*, lxiv, 1941, p. 35; A. Albright, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 81, Feb. 1941, p. 19 n., No. 83, Oct. 1941, p. 34; B. Maisler, *Bulletin des Etudes Historiques Juives*, No. 1, 1946, pp. 60 f.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. K. Sethe, *Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1926, No. 5, p. 47.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*, 1934, p. 7.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ch. Virolleaud, *Revue des Etudes Sémitiques*, 1934, No. 1, pp. vi, xi, and *La légende de Keret*, 1936, pp. 38, 44; R. Dussaud, *Les découvertes de Ras Shamra et l'Ancien Testament*, 2nd ed., 1941, p. 163; R. Weill, *Journal Asiatique*, ccxxix, 1937, pp. 16, 18; G. A. Barton, in *Mémorial Lagrange*, 1940, p. 30 (= *Journal of Biblical Literature*, lx, 1941, p. 215).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 63, Oct. 1936, p. 29 n., No. 71, Oct. 1938, p. 39.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *The Legend of King Keret*, 1946, pp. 16, 18.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Bulletin of A.S.O.R.*, No. 63, p. 27 n., No. 71, p. 38.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *The Legend of King Keret*, pp. 14, 34.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. A. Goetze, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, lviii, 1938, p. 277 n.; R. de Langhe, *Les textes de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et leurs apports à l'histoire des*

alleged occurrences of the names of the Israelite tribes are too insecure to build on.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, there is reason to believe that the name of Asher stands in Egyptian texts coming from the reigns of Seti I and Rameses II in the form of 'Asaru'.<sup>2</sup> It would then appear that this tribe was already in Palestine in those reigns, and the view that they entered the land in the Amarna age more than a century earlier than the reign of Seti I gains in probability. Nevertheless the identification is not accepted by all scholars, and it cannot be regarded as certain.

On the whole, therefore, it is improbable that in any texts coming from the period 2000 B.C. to 1400 B.C. references to the Biblical tribes or persons are really to be found. A like improbability attaches to the 'Negebite' theory of the Ras Shamra texts, associated particularly with the names of Virolleaud and Dussaud.<sup>3</sup> According to this view there are a number of

*origines israélites*, 1939, pp. 76 ff., 79 ff., and *Les textes de R.S.-U. et leurs rapports avec le milieu biblique de l'Ancien Testament*, ii, 1945, pp. 472 ff., 477 ff.; C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Grammar*, 1940, pp. 34, 36; J. Pedersen, *Berytus*, vi, 1941, p. 68; W. Baumgartner, *Theologische Rundschau*, N.F. xiii, 1941, p. 17; I. Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East*, 1943, pp. 150, 157 f. G. A. Barton, *loc cit.*, protests that 'The root *ašr* (or *atr*) does not mean "march" in any Semitic language or in Hittite. So far as Hurrian is yet known to us that tongue furnishes no basis for such a meaning. Egyptian has a verb 'šr, but it means "broil", "roast"'. He further observes: 'Similarly to translate *zblnm* "patricians" instead of "Zebulonites", in order to get rid of a definite Palestinian reference appears to be motivated more by a pre-conceived theory than by philology'.

<sup>1</sup> R. de Vaux formerly accepted these references to the Israelite tribes (cf. *Revue Biblique*, xlvi, 1937, pp. 446, 542), but appears to have abandoned this view (cf. *ibid.*, lv, 1948, pp. 326 f). Cf. also J. P. Lettinga, *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux*, ix, 1944, p. 120; A. Herdner, *Syria*, xxv, 1946-48, p. 137 b.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. W. M. Müller, *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern*, 1893, pp. 236-239; S. A. Cook, *Cambridge Ancient History*, ii, 1924, pp. 319, 326 f.; T. H. Robinson, *History of Israel*, i, 1932, pp. 75 f. See also C. F. Burney, *Israel's Settlement in Canaan*, 3rd ed., 1921, p. 82. Here R. Dussaud denies any reference to the Biblical tribe. Cf. *Syria*, xix, 1938, p. 177 b, and *Les découvertes de Ras Shamra et l'Ancien Testament*, 2nd ed., 1941, p. 163 n.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. R. Dussaud, 'Les Phéniciens au Négeb et en Arabie, d'après un texte de Ras Shamra', in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, cviii, 1933, pp. 5-49, and *Les découvertes de Ras Shamra et l'Ancien Testament*, 2nd ed., 1941, pp. 160-168; Ch. Virolleaud, *La légende de Keret roi des Sidoniens*, 1936, pp. 4-6. See also T. H. Gaster, 'The Ras-Shamra Texts and the Old Testament', in the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1934, pp. 141-146; R. Weill, 'Le poème de Keret et l'histoire', in *Journal Asiatique*, ccxix, 1937, pp. 1-56; 'La légende



references to the district in the south of Palestine standing in these texts, connecting the history of the Ras Shamra people with that district. Evidence of a great battle with the Terahites has been read into the texts, and the Terahites are then thought to be the ancestors of the Hebrews. All of this is speculative and doubtful, and to-day the Negebite hypothesis commands practically no following.<sup>1</sup> The texts are quite differently understood by most scholars, and where a geographical interpretation is given, it is associated with quite different districts.<sup>2</sup> By some, however, it is held that the texts are of ritual significance, and not of geographical and historical significance.<sup>3</sup>

The mention of Terah, however, raises the question of the mention of the father of Abraham in these texts. It has already been said that Ur and Harran were connected with moon worship. The name Terah appears to be connected with the Hebrew word

des Patriarches et l'histoire', in *Revue des Etudes Sémitiques*, 1937, pp. 145-206; G. A. Barton, 'Danel: a pre-Israelite Hero of Galilee', in *Mémorial Lagrange*, 1940, pp. 29-37.

<sup>1</sup> W. F. Albright, 'Was the Patriarch Terah a Canaanite Moon-God?' in *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 71, Oct. 1938, pp. 35-40, and 'L'hypothèse négebite des origines cananéennes', in *Actes du xx<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Orientalistes*, 1940, pp. 253-256. On p. 256 Albright speaks of the 'mirage enchanteur de Negeb', and in *Bulletin*, No. 71, p. 40, he says: 'There is no reason to give it'—i.e. the literature of Ugarit—'a factitious value by spinning webs of Negebite gossamer and substituting them for honest linen'. In *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, 2nd ed., 1946, p. 60, he observes that the entire negebite hypothesis 'is now virtually extinct in serious scholarly circles'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. R. de Vaux 'Le cadre géographique du poème de Krt', in *Revue Biblique*, xlv, 1937, pp. 362-372, and 'Les textes de Ras Shamra et l'Ancien Testament', *ibid.*, pp. 526-555 (esp. 535-545); A. Bea, *Biblica*, xix, 1938, pp. 437-443; R. de Langhe, *Les textes de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et leurs apports à l'histoire des origines israélites*, 1939, pp. 53-70, and *Les textes de R.S.-U. et leurs rapports avec le milieu biblique de l'Ancien Testament*, ii, 1945, pp. 488-504; O. Eissfeldt, 'Zum geographischen Horizont der Ras-Schamra Texte', in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, xciv, 1940, pp. 59-85; W. Baumgartner, *Theologische Rundschau*, N.F. xiii, 1941, pp. 18 f.; H. L. Ginsberg, *The Legend of King Keret*, 1946, pp. 7 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. I. Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East*, 1943, pp. 143-173, and *Horae Soederblomianae*, i, Fasc. 1, 1944, pp. 1-20. S. Mowinckel holds the text to be of a mythological rather than a historical character (cf. *Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift*, xlii, 1941, pp. 142-147, xliii, 1942, pp. 24-26), and so Albright (cf. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 63, Oct. 1936, pp. 23-32, No. 70, April 1938, pp. 22 f.).

for moon,<sup>1</sup> and this would not be surprising. It has been claimed, however, that in the Ras Shamra texts the name stands, not as the name of a man, but as that of a divinity, and here the father of Abraham occurs as a moon deity.<sup>2</sup> Again, however, the text is susceptible of a very different interpretation, and it is improbable that the name of Terah stands at all,<sup>3</sup> and therefore still more improbable that we have any reference to the ancestor of the Israelites.

Of the importance of all the texts I have referred to for other sides of Old Testament study it would be beyond our present subject to speak, and the relatively negative results we have reached so far as any direct references to the Israelite tribes are concerned should not create the impression that they are without value to the Biblical student. In particular, the Ras Shamra texts offer a most valuable contribution to our knowledge of Canaanite thought and practice. And when we remember the evidence of the Old Testament that the Israelites settled amongst the Canaanites, intermarried with them, and often took over their beliefs and practices, we are not surprised to find these texts of the highest importance. There is insufficient evidence, however, to sustain the claim that the name of Israel's God, Yahweh, stands in the texts in the form of Yw, where he is represented as the son of El.<sup>4</sup> The text where the name is said to stand is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. P. Joüon, *Biblica*, xix, 1938, pp. 280 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ch. Virolleaud, *Syria*, xiv, 1933, p. 149, xvii, 1936, pp. 214, 217, 219 f., *La légende de Keret roi des Sidoniens*, 1936, pp. 18-33; J. W. Jack, *The Ras Shamra Tablets*, 1935, pp. 41 f.; C. F. A. Schaeffer, *The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit*, 1939, pp. 73-76; R. Weill, *Journal Asiatique*, ccxxix, 1937, pp. 35-49; R. Dussaud, *Les découvertes de Ras Shamra et l'Ancien Testament*, 2nd ed., 1941, pp. 141, 143, 156 f., 160-162.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. C. H. Gordon, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 65, Feb. 1937, pp. 29-33, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, lvii, 1938, pp. 407-410; R. de Vaux, *Revue Biblique*, xlv, 1937, pp. 543-545, liii, 1946, p. 322; W. F. Albright, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 71, Oct. 1938, pp. 35-40, *Actes du xx<sup>e</sup> Congrès international des Orientalistes*, pp. 253-256; A. Bea, *Biblica*, xix, 1938, pp. 437 f.; J. Pedersen, *Berytus*, vi, 1941, pp. 65 f.; E. Hammershaimb, *Das Verbum im Dialekt von Ras Shamra*, 1941, pp. 29 f.; A. Goetze, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, lx, 1941, pp. 362 f.; J. P. Lettinga, *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux*, ix, 1944, pp. 119-122.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. R. Dussaud, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, cv, 1932, p. 247, *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1940, pp. 364 ff., and *Les découvertes de Ras*

fragmentary and its interpretation is very doubtful, and until we have clearer and unequivocal evidence it is wiser to treat the claim with caution.<sup>1</sup> Even if the name should be established there, we should have to recognise that this God plays no prominent part in the mythology of Ras Shamra, and we could hardly trace to the people of Ugarit the influence which led the Israelites to make him the only God whose worship was recognised as legitimate for them.<sup>2</sup>

Despite exaggerated and often doubtful claims, we can at least say that some of the names borne by Biblical characters in the patriarchal age are now known to have been used in that age.<sup>3</sup> Our evidence comes from various localities, and even though none of it refers to Biblical persons, it is still valuable as evidence of verisimilitude in the Biblical accounts, which use these names in that period.

Further, in the Bible we read of a number of different races being found together in Palestine at the time of the Israelite entry into the land. Of the Hittites our knowledge has increased enormously during the present century through the important discoveries of texts at Boghaz Keui in Asia Minor, where the Hittites had their capital. Even before that we had much knowledge from Egyptian sources of their influence in Syria and in Palestine, and their conflicts with Egypt and diplomatic relations with the Egyptian court. But of another of the races mentioned our knowledge has grown rapidly in much more recent years. It had often been supposed that the Horites were cave-dwellers, since their names had been etymologically connected with the

*Shamra et l'Ancien Testament*, 2nd ed., 1941, pp. 171 f.; H. Bauer, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, N.F. x, 1933, pp. 92-94; O. Eissfeldt, *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, xiv, 1934, pp. 298 f.; A. Vincent, *La religion des Judéo-Araméens d'Eléphantine*, 1937, pp. 27 f.; Ch. Viroilleaud, *La déesse 'Anat*, 1938, p. 98; A. Bea, *Biblica*, xx, 1939, pp. 440 f.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. R. de Vaux, *Revue Biblique*, xlii, 1937, pp. 552 f.; C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Grammar*, 1940, p. 100; W. Baumgartner, *Theologische Rundschau*, N.F. xiii, 1941, pp. 159 f.; R. de Langhe, *Un dieu Yahweh à Ras Shamra ?* 1942; W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, 2nd ed., 1946, pp. 197, 328.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. Bea, *Biblica*, xx, 1939, p. 441.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. R. de Vaux, *Revue Biblique*, liii, 1946, p. 324: 'Ainsi les noms des Patriarches appartiennent à des types onomastiques connus dans les milieux d'où sont sortis les ancêtres des Hébreux'.



Hebrew word for *cave*. To-day they are connected with the Hurrians, who were a powerful people in Mesopotamia, and who were found in Nuzu and Mari, and who are also known from Ras Shamra texts written in the Hurrian language.<sup>1</sup> They were a non-Semitic people, of whose origin we have little knowledge, but of whose activities in the Mesopotamian world we have knowledge from texts written in Babylonian.<sup>2</sup> Texts written in Hurrian are now being read, and a first study of Hurrian grammar has been published.<sup>3</sup>

A few years ago it was thought that the Hurrians were to be identified with the Subarians,<sup>4</sup> who figure in cuneiform texts as Subartu. Recent study of this question has yielded the view that they were quite separate peoples, and the Subarians have now to be added to the list of peoples who are known to have been in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, 2nd ed., 1946, p. 109: 'The Hurrians (*Biblical Horites*) have only been known to scholars for the past twenty years and most of our information about them is less than ten years old.' Already in 1939 R. de Vaux felt it necessary to 'opposer des barrières à cette "invasion hurrite" dont la Bible est menacée' (*Revue Biblique*, xlviii, 1939, p. 621 n.).

<sup>2</sup> Of the considerable literature dealing with the Hurrians only a few titles can be given here: E. Burrows, 'Notes on Harrian', in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1925, pp. 277-284; E. Chiera and E. A. Speiser, 'A New Factor in the History of the Ancient East', in *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, vi, 1926, pp. 75-92; E. A. Speiser, 'Ethnic Movements in the Near East in the Second Millennium B.C.', *ibid.*, xiii, 1933, pp. 13-54; A. Goetze, *Helthiter, Churritter and Assyrier*, 1936; J. Lewy, 'Influences hurrites sur Israël', in *Revue des Etudes Sémitiques*, 1938, pp. 49-75; F. Thureau-Dangin, 'Tablettes hurrites provenant de Mari', in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xxxvi, 1939, pp. 1-28; I. J. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, 1944; R. T. O'Callaghan, *Aram Naharaim*, 1948, pp. 44-49; and works mentioned in the following note.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. E. A. Speiser, *Introduction to Hurrian*, 1941 (*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, xx). Cf. also C. H. Gordon, 'Evidence for the Horite Language from Nuzi', in *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research*, No. 64, Dec. 1936, pp. 23-28; J. Friedrich, 'Der gegenwärtige Stand unseres Wissens von der churritischen Sprache', in *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux*, vi, 1939, pp. 90-96; E. A. Speiser, 'Progress in the Study of the Hurrian Language', in *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 74, April 1939, pp. 4-7, 'Notes on Hurrian Phonology', in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, lviii, 1938, pp. 173-201, and 'Studies in Hurrian Grammar', *ibid.*, lix, 1939, pp. 298-324; R. de Vaux, 'Etudes sur les Hurrites', in *Vivre et Penser*, i, 1941, pp. 194-211.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. A. Ungnad, *Subartu*, 1936, pp. 129 ff. See also R. de Vaux, *Vivre de Penser*, i, 1941, pp. 195-200.

Mesopotamia in the patriarchal age.<sup>1</sup> There was, indeed, quite a mixture of races in Mesopotamia in the first half of the second millennium B.C.,<sup>2</sup> as well as in Palestine, and the migrations that are recorded in the patriarchal narratives were probably connected with wider migrations that marked the age.

I have already noted that Ur and Harran are linked by their common worship of the moon-god Sin. It is now known that there was a temple to the same god at Mari,<sup>3</sup> which lay on the route from Ur to Harran, and more than half way between them. It has been conjectured that it was through Amorite influence that the cult of this god was spread from Ur to the north-west.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand there is little trace of moon worship at Nuzu.<sup>5</sup> From Harran it spread farther west and south to Syria and Palestine, where such a place-name as Jericho is connected with the word for moon.<sup>6</sup> In the story of the patriarchs also we find some moon names. It has already been said that the name of Abraham's father, Terah, has been found by some as a divine name at Ras Shamra. While this is improbable, it is not at all improbable that the name Terah is due to moon-worship amongst Abraham's ancestors. Similarly the name Laban is another name for the moon-deity,<sup>7</sup> and the names Sarah and Milcah may also be

<sup>1</sup> Cf. I. J. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, 1944; R. T. O'Callaghan, *Aram Naharaim*, 1948, pp. 37-44.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. O'Callaghan, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. O'Callaghan, *ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. P. (E.) Dhorme, 'Abraham dans le cadre de l'histoire', in *Revue Biblique*, xxxvii, 1928, pp. 367-386, 481-511, xl, 1931, pp. 364-374, 503-518, where it is argued that the moon was the god of the nomads, who spread the cult, and that it was worshipped under the name Sin by the Sumerians and Accadians, Warah by the Amorites, and Sahar by the Aramaeans. Cf. also O'Callaghan, *loc. cit.*, where the spread of the cult is associated more particularly with the Amorites, whereas Dhorme had associated it more particularly with the Aramaeans. On Amorite influence at Mari, cf. G. E. Mendenhall, *The Biblical Archaeologist*, xi, 1948, p. 12. G. E. Wright (*The Study of the Bible Today and Tomorrow*, ed. by H. R. Willoughby, 1947, pp. 81 f.) thinks it is probable that the 'Fathers of Israel were one small branch of the Amorite movement'.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. O'Callaghan, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Dhorme, *Revue Biblique*, xxxvii, 1928, pp. 509 ff.; O'Callaghan, *op. cit.*, p. 29 n. See also J. Lewy, 'The Late Assyro-Babylonian Cult of the Moon and its Culmination at the time of Nabonidus', in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, xix, 1945-46, pp. 405-489.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Dhorme, *loc. cit.*, p. 511, and *L'évolution religieuse d'Israël, I: La religion des Hébreux nomades*, 1937, p. 71. J. Lewy, *Revue de l'Histoire des*

associated with moon-worship.<sup>1</sup> All of this fits excellently into the fuller background which we now have of this period. As O'Callaghan says: 'The biblical narrative which traces the journey of Abraham . . . from Ur to Harran . . . could fit in perfectly with the migrations of nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples of the entire first half of the second millennium B.C.'. <sup>2</sup>

Finally we may see how some of the customs referred to in the stories of the patriarchal age find their illustration in recently found evidence from Nuzu.<sup>3</sup> Many of the documents found there relate to adoption. Sometimes a childless man or woman legally adopted a free-born person or slave, thus securing someone whose duty it would be to look after them and to bury them, and who in return became the heir of the adopter.<sup>4</sup> The practice was liable to abuse, and indeed became a means of evading one of the laws of the land. For in addition to genuine adoptions, there were what are called sale adoptions.<sup>5</sup> A man who was financially embarrassed would adopt as his son a wealthy man who would help him out of his difficulties and who would become the heir

*Religions*, cx, 1934, p. 45, identifies the Biblical Laban with this moon-deity, much as others have identified Terah with the same deity under another name. Cf. Dhorme, *loc. cit.*, p. 74.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dhorme, *Revue Biblique*, xxxvii, 1928, p. 511, and *La religion des Hébreux nomades*, p. 71; O'Callaghan, *op. cit.*, p. 29 n.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Illustrations of Biblical customs are noted in many of the works that treat of the Nuzu texts, and in particular in the following: E. A. Speiser, *Ethnic Movements in the Near East in the Second Millennium B.C.*, 1933 (*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, xiii, pp. 13-54); C. H. Gordon, 'Parallèles nouziens aux lois et coutumes de l'Ancien Testament', in *Revue Biblique*, xlv, 1935, pp. 34-41, 'Biblical Customs and the Nuzu Tablets', in *The Biblical Archaeologist*, iii, 1940, pp. 1-12, and *The Living Past*, 1940, pp. 156-178; R. T. O'Callaghan, 'Historical Parallels to Patriarchal Social Custom', in *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, vi, 1944, pp. 391-405.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. C. H. Gordon, *The Living Past*, 1940, pp. 159 f., and *The Biblical Archaeologist*, iii, 1940, p. 2. See also E. A. Speiser, *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, x, 1930, pp. 7-13; E. M. Cassin, *L'adoption à Nuzi*, 1938, pp. 285 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. E. A. Speiser, *loc cit.*, pp. 13-18; Cassin, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 ff.; C. H. Gordon, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, xliii, 1936, p. 151, and *The Living Past*, 1940, pp. 164 f. Some examples of deeds of sale-adoption are given in *Annual of A.S.O.R.*, xvi, 1936, pp. 82 ff. (translations by E. A. Speiser, the texts transliterated by R. H. Pfeiffer on pp. 21 ff.).



to his land. The law provided that land was inalienable and must be kept within the family, but by the fiction of adoption this was evaded. One man, who appears to have been the richest man in the community was adopted by very many men.<sup>1</sup> In the deeds of adoption it is specified what gift he gave to each of his 'fathers', but there is no mention of any duty to care for them during life and to mourn for them when dead, as there is in genuine cases of adoption.<sup>2</sup>

It will be remembered that in Gen. xv. 2 Abraham, who has no hope of any children of his own, refers to Eliezer as his heir, and further calls him 'one born in my house', i.e. a slave who had been born in slavery. Presumably Abraham had adopted him in accordance with this custom, to the mutual advantage of them both. But God says to the patriarch 'This man shall not be thine heir'.<sup>3</sup> If he had been a legally adopted heir, how could his rights be set aside so long as he fulfilled his filial duties? Here again we find illustration in the Nuzu texts, where it is provided that if the adopter should subsequently beget a son, the adopted son must yield to him the place of chief heir.<sup>4</sup>

Again we find that Sarah, when she had given up hope of motherhood gave her maid-servant Hagar to her husband to be her substitute, saying: 'It may be that I shall obtain children by her.'<sup>5</sup> Later we find that Rachel does the same thing with Bilhah, and her example is followed by Leah without the same reason.<sup>6</sup> In marriage contracts from Nuzu it is specified that if the wife should prove childless she must provide her husband with a slave wife.<sup>7</sup> It is curious to observe that a foreign slave may be specified

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C. H. Gordon, *The Living Past*, p. 164: 'Tehiptilla, for instance, had himself adopted as the son of several hundred people in the town, and accordingly obtained the right to inherit their property. He thus became the son of many fathers.'

<sup>2</sup> Cf. E. A. Speiser, *Annual of A.S.O.R.*, x, 1930, pp. 30 ff., where some examples of deeds of adoption are given. Cf. C. J. Gadd, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xxiii, 1926, p. 94; E. Chiera and E. A. Speiser, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, xlvii, 1927, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xv. 4.

<sup>4</sup> E. A. Speiser, *loc. cit.*, where this provision stands in the texts given.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. xvi. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. xxx. 3, 9.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. C. H. Gordon, *Revue Biblique*, xlv, 1935, p. 35; E. A. Speiser, *loc. cit.*, pp. 31 f.

in these texts,<sup>1</sup> and that Hagar was a foreign slave. In the Nuzu texts it is specified that the slave must come from Lulluland, whence the best slaves were obtained,<sup>2</sup> while in the case of Hagar she was an Egyptian. Later, when Sarah had herself borne Isaac, she demanded that Hagar and her child should be driven forth, and the patriarch was reluctant to comply with her demand.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, it was only as the result of divine instruction that he complied. Here again the Nuzu documents come to our help, for we find it is specified that if the slave wife should bear a son he must not be expelled.<sup>4</sup> In the light of this we can understand Abraham's reluctance to agree to Sarah's illegal demand, until a divine dispensation overrides the law.

There is a parallel to Esau's sale of his birthright. For we learn of a legal arrangement whereby the rights of the first-born are transferred to another.<sup>5</sup> In one case they are transferred to one who was not really a brother, but who was adopted as a brother.<sup>6</sup> In another case actual brothers were involved and the one who renounced his rights received three sheep in return.<sup>7</sup> He seems at any rate to have received more than the single meal which Esau got.

Another tablet offers a parallel to the story of Jacob and Laban. Here a man adopts another as his son, giving him his daughter to wife, and making him and his children heirs unless the adopter should subsequently beget a son, when the adopted son should take an equal share of the estate with the actual son, but the

<sup>1</sup> As in the text indicated in the preceding note, where we read : ' If Gilimninu bears (children), Shennima shall not take another wife ; and if Gilimninu does not bear, Gilimninu a woman of the Lullu as wife for Shennima shall take ' (translation of Speiser, *loc. cit.*, p. 32).

<sup>2</sup> C. H. Gordon, *The Living Past*, 1940, pp. 160 f.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xxi. 10 f.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the text transliterated and translated by Speiser, *loc. cit.*, pp. 31 f.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. E. A. Speiser, *Annual of the A.S.O.R.*, xiii, 1933, p. 44 : ' Another interesting analogue from Nuzi is a legal arrangement as to the disposition of the birthright : one of the parties acquires the rights of the firstborn, while the other, whose claims to the privilege would have been actually justified by reason of birth, is satisfied to accept a minor share in his father's estate.'

<sup>6</sup> Cf. C. H. Gordon, *The Biblical Archaeologist*, iii, 1940, p. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. C. H. Gordon, *The Living Past*, 1940, p. 177 ; *The Biblical Archaeologist*, iii, 1940, p. 5.

children of the adopted son would forfeit any right.<sup>1</sup> It is further laid down that the adopted son would not be entitled to take another wife beside the daughter of his adopted father.<sup>2</sup> While the parallel is not complete, it is sufficiently close to shed light on the Biblical story.

Again, Rachel's theft of the teraphim of Laban<sup>3</sup> is better understood in the light of Nuzu evidence. There we find that in law the possession of such idols by the woman's husband ensured for him the succession to the father-in-law's property.<sup>4</sup> It has been conjectured that Laban had no son at the time of Jacob's marriage of Leah, but that he subsequently became the father of sons, who were therefore now superior in legal standing to Jacob.<sup>5</sup> By carrying off the teraphim, however, Rachel preserved for Jacob the chief title to Laban's estate.

In all of these cases we have customs which do not recur in the Old Testament in later periods, and which therefore are not likely to reflect contemporary society in the age when the documents were written. Their accurate reflection of social conditions in the patriarchal age and in some parts of the Mesopotamia from which the patriarchs are said to have come, many centuries before the present documents were composed, is striking. Speiser conjectures that the true significance of these incidents had probably been lost even before the time of David.<sup>6</sup> It is in any case significant that if these stories had been carried in oral tradition they correctly reflect obsolete customs, and it is not surprising that to-day there is a disposition to treat them with more respect than some of the earlier scholars accorded them. To quote Speiser again: 'It follows that we cannot afford to disregard lightly the information contained in the patriarchal stories, no matter what we may think about the historicity of the in-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C. J. Gadd, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xxiii, 1926, pp. 126 f.; C. H. Gordon, *The Biblical Archaeologist*, iii, 1940, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xxxi. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. S. Smith, *apud* C. J. Gadd, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xxiii, 1926, p. 127; C. H. Gordon, *Revue Biblique*, xlv, 1935, pp. 35 f.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. C. H. Gordon, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 66, April 1937, p. 26.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, xiii, 1933, p. 44.



dividual heroes. Since the minor incidents are demonstrably in keeping with the times, not to say conditioned by them, it is likely that the accounts of the migrations of Abraham and his descendants have some foundations in fact.' <sup>1</sup>

It may be asked how it comes about that such close parallels can be found at Nuzu, which was a Hurrian centre, when it has been said that it was Amorite influence which prevailed at Mari and which may have carried moon-worship along the road to Harran. To this the reply is that there was an amalgam of cultures throughout Mesopotamia, and while moon-worship does not seem to have taken the same hold at Nuzu, there was certainly Hurrian influence there, and also at Mari,<sup>2</sup> and indeed throughout the whole Mesopotamian area.<sup>3</sup> If the Horites of the Bible are equated with the Hurrians, then that influence reached Palestine. It certainly reached Ras Shamra on the Mediterranean coast, where some tablets in Hurrian have been found.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, there is reason to believe that even Babylonian myths reached the Hebrews through a Hurrian milieu. For in the Babylonian flood story the hero bears a name which shows little likeness to that found in the Bible. For the Babylonian hero is called Ut-napishtim<sup>5</sup> and the Biblical hero Noah. Here, however, we find that a Hurrian fragment of the Gilgamesh epic contains a name related to the Biblical name Noah,<sup>6</sup> and it has therefore

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, xiii, 1933, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. I. J. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, 1944, pp. 62-65. Some Hurrian texts have been found at Mari, indeed (cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, 'Tablettes hurrites provenant de Mari', in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xxxvi, 1939, pp. 1-28), and these are at least three centuries older than the Hurrian texts of Boghaz Keui and Ras Shamra (so A. Bea, *Biblica*, xxi, 1940, p. 193), while Speiser estimates them to be four to five centuries older (cf. *Introduction to Hurrian*, 1941, p. 6) and Thureau-Dangin several centuries older (*loc. cit.*, p. 27).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, 2nd ed., 1946, pp. 109 f.; also *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 67, Oct. 1937, p. 29, and *Journal of Biblical Literature*, lviii, 1939, p. 101.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. R. de Langhe, *Les textes de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et leurs rapports avec le milieu biblique de l'Ancien Testament*, i, 1945, p. 98. See also H. L. Ginsberg and B. Maisler, 'Semitised Hurrians in Syria and Palestine', in *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, xiv, 1934, pp. 243-67.

<sup>5</sup> P. (E.) Dhorme, *Revue Biblique*, xxxix, 1930, p. 487, maintained that the name should be read Um-napishtim, but most continue to read Ut-napishtim.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. E. Burrows, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1925, p. 281. See also J. Lewy, *Nāh et Rušpān*, in *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud*, i, 1939, pp. 273-275.

been suggested that there was a Hurrian source for the traditions of Genesis.<sup>1</sup> Further, in the presence of important bodies of Habiru at Nuzu and in Palestine we have a further link between these two societies that is beyond conjecture, whether Harran provided a bridge between them or not. If the Habiru were of a common stock, they may well have kept in some touch with one another for some time after they broke off into separate groups, just as we are told that the family of Abraham kept in touch with their northern kin for two generations. Later these links would tend to be lost, especially with groups that became absorbed in the culture that surrounded them, or that sank into a normal condition of slavery.

The results of our study, of whose incompleteness I am fully conscious, may seem more meagre than some eager advocates have claimed. Yet they are not inconsiderable; and a sober recognition of the limits of our evidence is less harmful to the cause of truth than any exaggerated claims. Of the events of the patriarchal story we have no confirmation from any external source; of any mention of the patriarchs or of Israelite tribes in non-Biblical sources of the first half of the second millennium B.C. there is no solid evidence; of any external evidence for the soundness of the Biblical chronology which would put Abraham in the twenty-first century B.C. there is none, and he must either be placed in the eighteenth or seventeenth century B.C. or completely loosed from known external history. On the other hand, if the reasonable probability that Gen. xiv. 1 reflects the conditions of the early seventeenth century is recognised, much more is gained than is lost by the sacrifice of the chronology, which is, in parts at any rate, late and inconsistent with other Biblical statements. For if a sound tradition lay behind the synchronism of Gen. xiv. 1, it is likely that in other respects the chapter rests on ancient tradition. Further, the evidence that the names borne by persons in the patriarchal stories are known to have been borne by persons in the second millennium B.C., and in some cases

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. Burrows, *loc. cit.* Cf. W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, 1932, pp. 139 f., *Journal of Biblical Literature*, lvii, 1938, p. 231; also G. E. Mendenhall, *The Biblical Archaeologist*, xi, 1948, p. 16, where an Amorite source is preferred.

borne by several persons, helps to increase our respect for the traditions. For a modern writer to compose historical fiction, with large libraries at his disposal, is one thing; but for an ancient writer it was not so easy. Yet even a modern writer can be guilty of anachronisms. While there are undoubted anachronisms in the book of Genesis, however, such as the use of the name Dan in Gen. xiv. 14<sup>1</sup> and the references to the Philistines in the time of Abraham,<sup>2</sup> they do not concern the names of persons or the conditions of the times. Moreover, the patriarchal stories cannot be classed with modern historical fiction, since they undoubtedly rest on traditions handed down from the past. If they were traditions which came into existence without basis long after the times they purport to describe, the close accord with the conditions of those times would be remarkable. For, as Albright says, and as has been made clear in what I have said in this lecture, 'It is now becoming increasingly clear that the traditions of the Patriarchal Age, preserved in the book of Genesis, reflect with remarkable accuracy the actual conditions of the Middle Bronze Age, and especially of the period between 1800 and 1500 B.C.'<sup>3</sup> It is, therefore, as I said at the outset, not because scholars of to-day begin with more conservative pre-suppositions than their predecessors that they have a much greater respect for the patriarchal stories than was formerly common, but because the evidence warrants it.<sup>4</sup> That the evidence concerns the background of the stories and not their content does not make it less significant; and in any case it is the only contemporary evidence that we have.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jg. xviii, 29, where it is said that the city was not called Dan until long after the time of Abraham, and after the days of Moses and Joshua.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gen. xxi. 32, 34, xxvi. 8, 14, 15, 18. The Philistines did not enter the land until the beginning of the twelfth century B.C., and therefore long after the Biblical chronology would put Abraham and Isaac, and after that chronology would put Moses.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, lxix, 1930, pp. 446 f. Cf. also G. E. Mendenhall, *The Biblical Archaeologist*, xi, 1948, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> For a long and valuable study of the subject of the present paper cf. R. de Vaux, 'Les patriarches hébreux et les découvertes modernes', in *Revue Biblique*, liii, 1946, pp. 321-48, lv, 1948, pp. 321-47, lvi, 1949, pp. 5-36.



# GYMNASIUM DEBTS AND NEW MOONS

By ERIC G. TURNER, M.A.

READER IN PAPYROLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

AND

OTTO NEUGEBAUER, Ph.D., LL.D.

PROFESSOR OF THE HISTORY OF MATHEMATICS, BROWN UNIVERSITY.

Philadelphia, Arsinoite nome (?)  
October, 180 B.C.

Height, 15 cm.

The papyrus here published (P. Ryl. Inv. 666) is of considerable interest for its information on Greek astronomy in the early second century B.C., and is therefore presented in the BULLETIN, on the invitation of the late Dr. Guppy, in advance of its appearance in the fourth volume of the Catalogue of Papyri.<sup>1</sup>

The papyrus consists of seven fragments from a roll. On the recto the surviving first eight columns, the work of one hand but with corrections and marginal notes by a second, form part of an account of moneys due for recovery; beginning at col. ix another hand has set out the method for finding 'lunar' new moons and drawn up a table of equivalents. The verso was later used for an account arranged by days of the month, of which parts of 15 columns can be traced, but the writing is mainly effaced. The following may serve as a specimen of it, col. iii (4th hand) :

<sup>1</sup> προήρηκε Ἀπολλώνιος    <sup>2</sup> ἀπὸ τῶν εἴκοσι πέντε    <sup>3</sup> ἄρταβῶν πέντε  
λο(ιπὸν) κα (sic).

From internal evidence the date is 180 B.C., about October. The names which figure in recto cols. i-viii strongly suggest

<sup>1</sup> I take responsibility for § 1 of introduction, text, restorations, translation and commentary; § 2 of the introduction is by Professor Neugebauer. But there has been a fruitful give and take of ideas and queries. Mr. T. C. Skeat, in calling to my attention Professor Neugebauer's paper in *Quellen und Studien z. Gesch. der Mathematik*, 1938, acted as a *pronuba* to our union. I am grateful to him also for other assistance, especially for information about names found at Philadelphia. Some suggestions have been contributed by Sir Idris Bell and Mr. C. H. Roberts.—E.G.T.

Philadelphia as provenance: Euphron, Perdikkas, Kleitorios, Artemon and the very rare Ambilaos all occur in the Ptolemaic ostraca from Philadelphia published in *B.G.U.*, vii, while Ptolemarchos appears in *P. Frib.*, 34, also from Philadelphia, and there is also a Zenon who may be descended from his more famous namesake. The attribution to Philadelphia<sup>1</sup> is supported by the consideration that other papyri forming part of the same purchase for the Rylands Library (e.g., the Vineyard Lease published in *BULLETIN*, vol. 31 (1948), 148), are shown by internal evidence to come from there.

### § 1

The first eight columns on the recto deal with debts due for recovery (a *πρακτορεία* list? cf. *πρᾶξον* in l. 22 and often). On the debts in money, interest is charged at 2 per cent. per month, and the first five columns are occupied by a computation of interest for five months, while the grand total in l. 54 shows that the computation in its complete state covered a six months' period. It appears that the list covered the second half of the Egyptian year 181-180 B.C., and was probably drawn up in Thoth of 180 B.C. (compare l. 16, bad debts for the "24th year", i.e. of Epiphanes, and col. ix; also l. 1 of marginal entry at edge of col. viii). The computation then proceeds, after one deduction, perhaps of an amount already paid, to enumerate other debts: (1) various debts due in money, (2) quantities of oil, (3) 'common' or 'club' monies ([ἐ]πίκοινα χρήματα, l. 85) which appear to be the principal sums on which interest has been charged in the first five columns. If this is correct, the account is of sums due to a society or association (*σύνοδος*),<sup>2</sup> and certain entries point to its being a gymnasium.<sup>3</sup> The most important of these is the

<sup>1</sup> All the gods mentioned in frag. vii are known to have been worshipped in Philadelphia (Cf. Préaux, *Les Grecs en Égypte*, p. 71).

<sup>2</sup> The possibly philanthropic use of 'club' moneys on loan is reminiscent of *ἐρανος* societies (cf. San Nicolò, *Aegypt. Vereinswesen*, i. 212 ff.) in which, however, no interest is charged for the *ἐρανος*.

<sup>3</sup> See in general T. A. Brady, *The gymnasium in Ptolemaic Egypt*, *Univ. Missouri Studies*, 11 (1936), 9 ff.; and for the gymnasium in Philadelphia in the third century B.C. *PSI*, 391 (Zenon archive); at a slightly later date than this in second century, *BGU*, 1256.

entry in ll. 61-63  $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi\omicron\nu\ \delta\grave{\epsilon}\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau[\omicron\upsilon]\varsigma\ \kappa\epsilon\chi\rho\iota\kappa\acute{o}\tau\alpha\varsigma\ \xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon[s]$  (see note *ad loc.*), while the mention of a funeral feast in l. 68 and reference elsewhere (l. 16; 75 ff.) to amounts due in oil support this view. Further weight is given to it by the fact that the names, with the exception of the Persian Arsaces and Egyptian Sarapammon (only marginal note in col. viii) are Greek or Macedonian throughout.

## § 2

The introduction to the astronomical section of this papyrus refers to the first year of Ptolemy VI, Philometor, thus to the time of 180 B.C. The scarcity of information on Greek astronomy before the *Almagest* lends special interest to any document from this early period. The introduction also mentions as the main contents of the text the determination of the character of lunar months by means of a 25-year cycle which states that

25 Egyptian years = 309 synodic months = 9,125 days.

The use of this cycle is well-known from the *Almagest* in which it forms the basis for the computation of the mean syzygies.<sup>1</sup> Only in recent years, however, has its importance for ancient astronomy become fully evident with the deciphering of the Demotic *P. Carlsberg*, 9.<sup>2</sup> Here the 25-year cycle for the first time was seen to be associated with contemporary starting points, the earliest of which was Tiberius 6 (= Augustus 49), the latest, Antoninus 8 (= Augustus 174). Since then it has been recognised that *P. Ryl.*, 27, also utilises the same cycle, extending its use from Cleopatra 21 (= Augustus - 1) to the time of Gallus (Augustus 282). At the same time it has become clear<sup>3</sup> that *P. Lund*, 35a, also is based on the same method as *P. Ryl.*, 27, covering at least the years from Nero 6 to Trajan 12. Our present text shows that the 25-year cycle goes back to the early second century B.C. Other elements in *P. Ryl.*, 27 and *P. Lund*, 35a are known from

<sup>1</sup> Book VI, chapters 2 and 3. The epoch is the year Nabonassar 1.

<sup>2</sup> Neugebauer-Volten, *Quellen u. Studien z. Gesch. d. Math.*, sec. B, vol. 4 (1938) pp. 383-406.

<sup>3</sup> This will be shown in a forthcoming publication of the Danish Academy, *Hist.-filol. Medd.* 32, 2 (1949).



Babylonian astronomical texts of the Seleucid period.<sup>1</sup> The 25-year cycle, however, must have its origin in Egypt because it holds only for the Egyptian anni vagi of 365 days each. The importance of a real lunar calendar has become increasingly evident<sup>2</sup> for all periods of Egyptian history. Parker has given good arguments for assuming that the scheme of P. Carlsberg 9 was invented in the fourth century B.C. Whether we should seek Greek influence here or not remains a matter of mere speculation.

Before discussing in detail the relation of our new text to the 25-year cycle, we shall investigate the relation between Egyptian months and the signs of the zodiac, given in col. x. Obviously any fixed relation between 30-day months and zodiacal signs can be no more than approximately correct not only because the sun travels less than  $360^\circ$  in 360 days but also because the solar movement is slower near the apogee in Gemini and faster at the perigee in Sagittarius.<sup>3</sup> But aside from these small corrections, the months of the Egyptian calendar change their position with respect to the seasons comparatively so rapidly that a co-ordination of months and zodiacal signs can have only a very limited validity. Thus it is rather surprising to find a list as given in col. x in a text which on the other hand is concerned with a 25-year cycle, when the beginning of an Egyptian month moves back about  $6^\circ$  in a simple cycle. Yet a somewhat similar observation can be made for another astronomical papyrus of the same period, the so-called "Eudoxus papyrus", *P. Par.*, 1. In the latter papyrus, it is stated<sup>4</sup> that, according to Eudoxus and Democritus, the winter solstice falls on Hathyr 20 or 19. This statement is certainly wrong for the period of Eudoxus but leads to agreement for about 185 B.C. Similarly, *P. Hibeh*, 27, gives fixed dates for the equinoxes and the summer solstice leading to a date of about

<sup>1</sup> Knudtzon-Neugebauer, *Bull. Soc. R. des Lettres de Lund*, 1946-1947, ii, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> An exhaustive study of the Egyptian calendar by R. A. Parker is to be published soon in Chicago.

<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless the association of months and zodiacal signs is very common in all calendars of a luni-solar character. An extreme case is the calendar of Dionysius (time of Philadelphus) where the months are named after the signs of the zodiac. Cf. *Pauly-Wissowa*, *RE*, 5, 991 (No. 143). Cf. also *P. Oxy.*, 465.

<sup>4</sup> XXII, 21 ff., ed. Blass.

300 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Thus we have to accept the fact that correlations between the zodiac and the wandering year were not considered without value in spite of their short-lived character.

As in the cases just quoted, we must ask ourselves when the month of Thoth coincides with the sign of Scorpio as required by our text. If one computes the longitude of the sun for Thoth 1 from — 200 to — 169 one finds values decreasing from Libra 16 to Libra 9. This apparent disagreement with the statement of our text can be resolved by introducing Eudoxus's norm for the division of the zodiac. As is known, e.g., from Hipparchus,<sup>2</sup> Eudoxus called the vernal point Aries 15. Consequently in his system one would call the above-mentioned interval "Scorpio 1 to Libra 24". For the years around 180 B.C. one would obtain Libra 27 or 26 for the longitude of the sun at the first of Thoth. Thus it is fairly correct when our text identifies Thoth and Scorpio using the norm of Eudoxus, for the zodiacal signs. The same norm is used in *P. Hibeh*, 27.

We now can turn to the discussion of the 25-year cycle. We know from *P. Carlsberg*, 9, that a starting point of a cycle was Tiberius 6, Thoth 1. The corresponding Julian date is A.D. 19, Aug. 19. Eight cycles earlier, we find for the first of Thoth the date — 181,<sup>3</sup> Oct. 8. Our papyrus states that the first year of the cycle is "the same as the first year as reckoned by . . . Philometor, etc.". Now Philometor succeeded to the throne in summer — 179 (see note on line 108) and his first year in the Egyptian reckoning, which we believe to be the only one worth taking into account here, ran from the date of his accession to — 179, Thoth 1, but could retrospectively be regarded as extending back to — 180, Thoth 1. This fictitious retrospective extension we hold to be intended, and to be indicated by the unusually circumstantial description of the year. This makes the first year of the cycle run from — 180 to — 179. In other words, the years of the 25-year cycle are counted in the

<sup>1</sup> The accuracy of computations of this type should not be over-estimated. An error of  $\pm 2$  days in the determination of the equinoxes corresponds to an uncertainty of about  $\pm 8$  years in the date.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., e.g., J. G. Smyly ad *P. Hibeh*, 27, p. 141.

<sup>3</sup> Astronomical notation which inserts a zero between A.D. 1 and 1 B.C. is used here. In historical notation — 181 is equivalent to 182 B.C.

same way as Philometor's regnal years while his first year would coincide with the second year of the norm adopted by *P. Carlsberg*, 9. Because any year in a periodically repeating scheme can be considered as the "first" year of the cycle the only essential point to investigate is the agreement of the dates of the new moons.

*P. Carlsberg*, 9, gives a cyclic scheme for lunar phenomena of the following type. We indicate by the columns i to xii the twelve months of the Egyptian civil year. Each column contains 25 lines for the consecutive years of the cycle. For our present purpose it suffices to reproduce the scheme for the first three years only <sup>1</sup>:

	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii
1	.	1	.	30	.	29	.	28	.	27	.	26
2	.	20	.	19	.	18	.	17	.	16	.	15
3	.	9	.	8	.	7	.	6	.	5	.	4

The meaning of this scheme is obvious. In general two consecutive entries (e.g., in the first year, iv, 30 and vi, 29) are two times  $29\frac{1}{2}$  days apart. Occasionally, however (e.g. ii, 1 and iv, 30 of year 1), twice  $29\frac{1}{2}$  days plus 30 days lie between two entries. A civil year of this type obviously participates in 13 lunar months.<sup>2</sup> And it can be shown that the complete scheme contains exactly 309 lunar months totalling 9,125 days.

It also can be shown from the dates in *P. Carlsberg*, 9, that they correspond to new moons. Thus our scheme has to be interpreted in the following way. If in the first year of a cycle the new moon will be first visible on ii, 1, then iv, 30 will be again a new moon, etc.

Many questions arise in connection with this scheme. First of all one must inquire about the date which should be adopted for the months where no dates are given. Parker tried to restore a definite rule for the missing entries by means of attested double dates.<sup>3</sup> We shall see that our present text can be restored in such a way that the same sequence of hollow and full months is obtained for the beginning of year 2 and of year 3 of the cycle.

<sup>1</sup> For the complete scheme cf. Neugebauer-Volten, quoted in note p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> Years of this type were called "great years".

<sup>3</sup> Parker (cf. note p. 83), Chapter II.



Another question concerns the exact lunar phenomenon which was meant to be found in our text. In line 125 we read αἱ δὲ κατὰ σ[ελήνην νομμη]νίαι. The addition of κατὰ σελήνην obviously means that we are dealing here with phenomena of the real lunar calendar, in contrast to any civil calendar which is not regulated (either directly through observation or indirectly by computation) by the real moon. Thus the first day of an Egyptian month may be called νομμηνία though it be without relation to any lunar phenomenon, whereas νομμηνία κατὰ σελήνην must mean the first day of a real lunar month,<sup>1</sup> where "real" is to be understood as guaranteed by cyclic computation. Actually, however, this method of computing accumulated an error of about .048 days each cycle because 309 mean synodic months are this amount shorter than 9,125 days. Because the dates in *P. Carlsberg*, 9, agree quite closely with first visibility for the cycle beginning in A.D. 144, a cycle beginning about 180 B.C. should show a lag of about one-half day. Nevertheless the agreement will still be good enough to interpret the dates in question as the dates of first evening visibility of the new crescent. This is exactly what one would expect to be the meaning of νομμηνία κατὰ σελήνην.

We can now return to our remark that the month Thoth in line 127 refers to the first year of Philometor and to the second year of a cycle. For such a year *P. Carlsberg*, 9, would give

. 20 . 19

whereas we find in our text in col. x

20 19 19 19.

Because the cyclic year shows no other year with 19 in the 4th place and only for year 16 a 19 in the second place (followed by 18 in the 4th), it is evident that we must consider the entry in our text a modification of the scheme for the second year. On this basis the year numbers have been restored in lines 126, 139, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Our papyrus disproves the assumption of the editors of *P. Hibeh*, 27, that κατὰ σελήνην does not imply "any real reference to the moon" (p. 152). It must be admitted, however, that it is often difficult to establish the exact astronomical significance of this expression. As far as the Athenian calendar is concerned cf. Pritchett-Neugebauer, *Calendars of Athens*, pp. 12 ff. The term also occurs in horoscopes from Dura, *Report IV*, Nos. 220 and 236 (third century A.D.).

As is seen from column xi our text explicitly indicated whether a month was full or hollow. The number of days mentioned must mean the number of days in the month whose beginning date is given in the same line. Unfortunately no more dates are preserved after column x. If we assume for the third year the same modification of dates of the Carlsberg cycle as in the second year we obtain the following information from cols. x and xi of our text

Year of Carlsberg Cycle	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii
2	20	19	19	19	?							
	(29)	(30)	(30)	?	?							
3	(9)	(8)	(8)	(8)	(7)	(7)	(6)	(6)	(5)	(5)	(4)	(4)
	29	30	30	29	30	29	30	29	30	(29)	(30)	

This shows that month i is hollow in both years and similarly that the months ii and iii are full in year 2 and in year 3. It must be emphasised, however, that this conclusion is based on the assumption that we placed correctly the fragment on which the number of days are written. If this fragment belongs to a later column, no conclusions at all are possible.

We must finally discuss the size and purpose of our text. It is plausible to assume that a complete list of 25 years was given. This would require about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  metres of additional text. The "unplaced fragment" can only be placed after the list of months. Column ix is written across an original join in the papyrus. The presence of the astronomical text, therefore, is not due to the accidental make up of a roll from "waste" paper to carry the accounts on the verso.

The mention of Hermes, Demeter, Hephaistos together with "new moon" points to a calendar of festivals, analogous to *P. Hibeh*, 27. Perhaps this calendar gives the motivation for the combination of a scheme for lunar months with the business account of the Gymnasium. Hermes and Demeter might properly be objects of gymnasium worship, but Hephaistos is not so easy to account for.

## Column 1 (Fragment i)

Parts of 3 lines

	Ἀρσά[κη]ν	(ταλ.)	[α]	(δραχμὰς)	ρκ
5	Πτ[ολ]έμ[αρ]χον	[(ταλ.)]	α	(δρ.)	ρκ
	Εὐ[φ]ρονα	(ταλ.)	α	(δρ.)	ρ[κ]
	Πτολεμαῖον Περδίκ(κον)	᾽Β	(δρ.)	μ	
	ἄλλω[ς] διὰ Μ[ε]νεκράτ[ο]ν	᾽Γ	(δρ.)	[ξ]	
	Μενεκ[ρ]άτην	᾽Γ	(δρ.)	ξ	
10	Τρύφω[ν]α Κλειτορίου	᾽Α	(δρ.)	κ	
	Χιων[ί]δην	(δρ.)	ρ	(δρ.)	β
	(γίνεται) τόκος φμβ				

## Column 2

	[ 6 ]	Φαρμοῦ[θι			
	[ 6 ]	.			
15	[ 2 ? ]	νη[ν] τ[ι]μῆν τ[ῆς] σ[τ]ά-			
		θμης ἐλαίου κδ (ἔτους)			πε
		Ἀθη[ν]όδωρον καὶ Ἀρτέμωνα			μ
ζ(ητησον)		Διοσκουρ[ί]δην	β <sup>—</sup>	(δρ.)	ι
		Κράτην	α		ε
20		Πτολεμαῖον Ἀμβ(ιλίου) α		ε	(γίνονται) ρμε
		(γίνονται) τῆς διμήνου Ἀυκθ			
		πρ[ᾱ]ξον δὲ καὶ τοῦ Παχών			
		Ἀρσάκην	(ταλ.)	α	ρκ

## Column 3

	Π[τολέμ]αρ[χο]ν	(ταλ.)	α	ρκ
25	Εὐ[φ]ρων	(ταλ.)	α	ρκ
	Πτολεμαῖον Περ(δίκκου)	᾽Ε	ρ	
	Τρύφωνα Κλειτο(ρίου)	᾽Α	κ	
	Χιωνίδην	ρ	β	
	(γίνεται) τόκος υπβ			
30	Παῦνι			
	Ἀρσάκην	(ταλ.)	α	ρκ
	Πτολέμαρχον	(ταλ.)	α	ρκ
	Εὐφρονα	᾽Γ	ξ	
	Πτολεμαῖον Περ(δίκκου)	᾽Ε	ρ	
35	Τρύφω[ν]α	᾽Α	κ	
	25 read Εὐφρονα			



Column 4 (Fragment ii)

	Χιωνίδην	[ρ.] (δρ.)	β
	(γίνεται) τόκος	[υ]κβ	
	Ἐπεῖφ		
	Ἀρσάκην	(ταλ.) α	ρκ
40	Πτο[λ]έμαρχ[ο]ν	(ταλ.) α	ρκ
	Ε[υ]φρονα	Ἰ	ξ
	Πτολεμαῖον Περ(δίκκου)	Ἐ	ρ
	Τρύφωνα Κλει(τορίου)	Ἀ	κ
	Χιωνίδην	ρ	β
45	(γίνεται) τόκος	υκβ	

Column 5

	[Μεσορ]ῇ ὁμ[οί]ως		
	Ἀρσάκην	(ταλ.) α	ρκ
	Π[τ]ο[λ]έμαρχον	(ταλ.) α	ρκ
	Εὐφρονα	Ἰ	ξ
50	Πτολεμα[ῖον Π]ερ(δίκκου)	Ἐ	ρ
	[Τ]ρύφων[α Κ]λειτο(ρίου)	Ἀ	κ
	Χιωνί[δ]ην	ρ	β
	(γίνεται) τόκ[ο]ς	υκβ	
	(γίνονται) τόκου	Ἐωλβ	
55	διὰ Εὐμ(ένους) στήθμης καὶ		
	ἐκτων	ρμε	

Column 6

	(γίνονται) ἸΒΤ[οξ]		
	ἱαίρεις δεδωκώς		
	Ζήνων[ι εἴ]ως		
60	[Πα]χὼν Τ[ο]		
	λο(ιπὸν) ἸΒξ		
	Πρᾶξον δὲ καὶ τ[οῦ]ς κς-		
	χρικότας ξένου[ς] ἀπὸ		
	Παχὼν ἁ ἀν[ὰ λ]όχ(ον)		
65	λ ρν		
	Δαβρέαν καὶ Σέ[λευκον (?)]		
	περιλειμμ[άτων κ]		
	61 λο(ιπὸν) : ∅ Pap.		

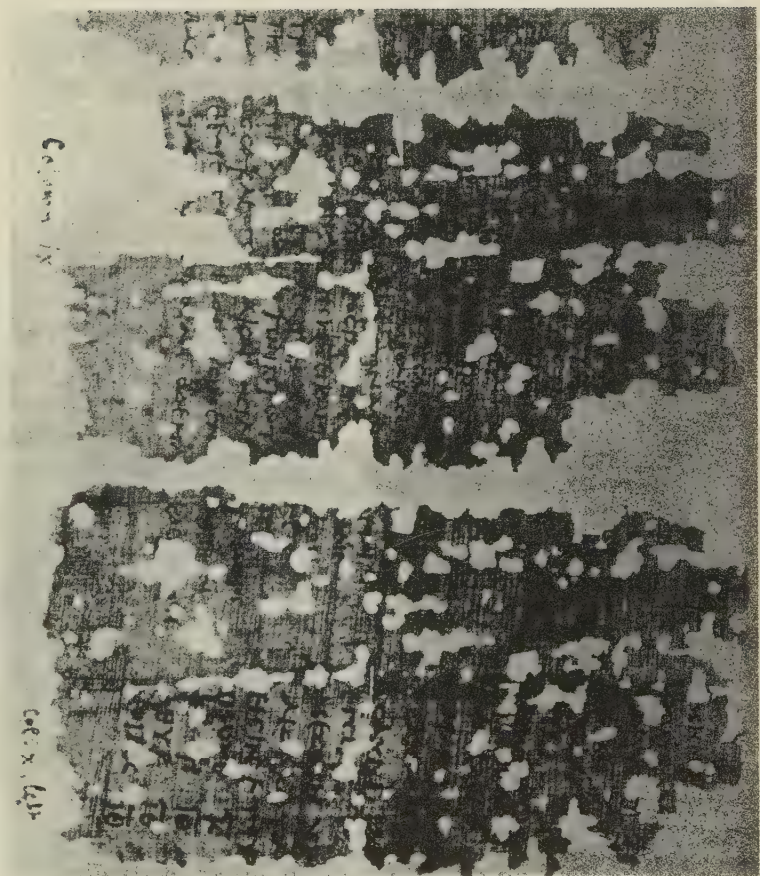
## Column 7 (Fragment iii)

- Περ[ι]δείπνον τῆς Ἑστιάου[ν]  
 ἀδελφῆς πζ
- 70 Ἀ[πολ]λοφάνη[ν] ἐν Κρο-  
 κοδίλων Π[όλ]ει ψη  
 (γίνονται) τλε (γίνονται) Βτμβ  
<sup>α[...]</sup>κει  
 Ζήνω[ν]ι Φαγο( ) [...]...[....] Πτολεμ[αῖον(?) ] .των  
 εν.[...][...][...]ηνησ[.....ἐ]κατοστῶν [ ] [...]δαμι..  
 χα(λκοῖ) ψη
- 75 Π[ρᾶ]ξον δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὀφε[ί-]  
 [λο]ντας ἐλαῖο[ν] (γίνονται) Βκ  
 λο(ιπὸν)..  
 Μενεκ[ρά]την ἐλαίου  
 κο(τύλας) ι[.] (τέταρτον)  
 Πτολεμ[αῖο]ν Ἀμβιλίου
- 80 ὕδρ[ιαν] α<sup>-</sup> κο(τύλας) κ

## Column 8 (Fragment iv)

- [Ἀ]πολλοφάνην ὕδρ[ι]ας .<sup>-</sup> κο(τύλας) ς (τέταρτον)  
 [...]ρραμην ὕδ(ρίας) . κο(τύλην) α  
 [ 4-5 ] . εα [ὑ]δ(ρίας) η κο(τύλας) δ [ ]  
 πρᾶξον δὲ καὶ [το]ὺς ὀφείλ[ο]ντας
- 85 [ἐ]πίκωνα χρήματα  
 (2nd Hand)-ιβ Θωὺθ  
 ἀπέ[χ]ει Ζήνων  
 ἂς π[ρ]οσοφειλη-  
 σα πρὸς τὴν  
 πρακτορίαν 5  
 Εὐφρονα ἼΓ  
 Ἀπολλοφάνου  
 (δρ.) [ ]  
 90 Τρύφ[ω]να [Ἀ]  
 Σαραπάμμου  
 [Χιω]ν[ίδην] (δρ.) ρ  
 νι[ ] (ταλ.) . β  
 (γίνονται τάλαντα) γ ἸΓρ (γίνονται) τυ 10

line 3 read προσωφείλησα



P. RyL. Inv. 666 Fragment IV Columns 9 and 10 (Reduced 3/4).





## Column 9 (3rd Hand)

- [Βασιλε]υό[ν]των [βασι]λίσσης [Κλεοπάτρα]ς  
 [καὶ βασι]λέως Π[το]λε[μαίου] το[ῦ] υἱοῦ θε[ω]ν  
 Ἐπ[ιφ]ανῶν ἔτους α. παράπ[ηγμα τ]ῶν  
 95 κατ[ὰ] σ[ε]λήνην νουμηνιῶ[ν] ὥς εἰσι κ[α]-  
 τὰ [τὰς ἡ]μέρας τῶ[ν] κατ' Αἰγυπ[τίους] δωδε[κα]-  
 μή[νω]ν τεταγμένοι, οὗ ἐστὶν ἡ π[ερ]ίο-  
 δ[ος] ἔ[τη] μὲν εἴκ[ο]σι πέν<sup>τε</sup>, μῆνες δ[ὲ] σ[ὺν]  
 ἐμβ[ο]λίμ[ο]ις τριακόσιοι ἑννέα, ἡμέρ[αι] δὲ  
 100 ἐν[ακί]σχ[ίλ]ιαι ἑκατὸν εἴκ[ο]σι πέντε. [σ]η-  
 μαί[νε]ι δὲ καὶ τοὺς κατὰ σελήνην μῆ-  
 νας καὶ τούτων τίνες ἡσὶ πλήρη[ς] κ[αὶ] τίνες  
 κοῦλ[οι] κ[αὶ] π[ο]ιο[ι] αὐτῶν ἐμβόλιμοι κα[ὶ] ἐ[ν] τίνι  
 ζω[ιδί]ωι ἡλι[ο]ς καθ' ἑκάστον μῆν[α] στή[σεται].  
 105 ὅ[ταν] διέλθει τὰ εἴκοσι π[ε]ν[τε] ἔ[τη] πάλιν  
 ἐπ[ὶ] τῇ[ν] αὐτὴν ἀρχὴν ἡξεί καὶ τὸ[ν] αὐτὸν  
 τρόπ[ο]ν ἀλ[λάξ]εται. ἔστιν δὲ πρῶ[το]ν ἔτος  
 τῆς περιόδου [τ]ὸ αὐτὸ τῶι πρῶτῳ[ι] ὥς  
 βασιλίσσα Κλεοπάτ[ρ]α καὶ βασιλεὺς Π[το]λεμαῖος  
 110 ὁ υἱ[ὸς] θεοὶ Ἐπιφ[αν]εῖς ἄγουσιν ἐν [ᾧ] καὶ τὴν  
 βασιλείαν [π]α[ρ]ε[λ]άβοσαν. ὁ δὲ ἡλ[ιος] καθ[έ]στ[η]  
 102 ἡσί, read εἰσί; πλήρης, read πλήρεις; 105 read διεληθῆ

## Column 10

- μῆνα ἑ[κ]αστον  
 Θωὺθ Σκ[ορπίωι]  
 Φαῶφι Τοξό[τηι]  
 115 Ἀθὺρ Αἰγ[οκέρωι]  
 Χοίαχ Ἰ[δ]ρ[οχόωι]  
 Τῦβι Ἰχθύσι  
 Μεχέρ Κρι[ῶι]  
 Φαμενώθ Τα[ύρωι]  
 120 Φαρμούθι Δι[δύμοις]  
 Παχὼν Κα[ρκίνωι]  
 Παῦνι Λέ[οντι] ]....  
 Ἐπεῖφ Πα[ρθένωι]  
 Μεσορὴ Χη[λαῖς]

- 125 αἱ δὲ κατὰ σ[ελήνην νουμη]νίαι (Fragment v)  
 εἰσὶν ἔτους [πρώτου  
 Θωὺθ κ [ἡμέραι κθ]  
 Φ[α]ῶφι ἰθ̄ ἡ[μέραι λ]  
 Ἀθὺρ ἰθ̄ ἡ[μέραι λ]  
 130 Χοίαχ ἰθ̄ [ἡμέραι κθ]

## Column 11 (Fragment v)

4 lines lost

- 135 Π[αχών  
 Π[αῦνι  
 Ἐπε[ιφ  
 Με[σορῇ]

- 140 Ἐτ[ους δευτέρου  
 Θω[ὺθ  
 Φαῶ[φι  
 Ἀθὺ[ρ  
 Χοία[χ  
 Τῶβ[ι  
 145 Μεχ[εῖρ  
 Φαμ[ενὼθ  
 Φαρμ[οῦθι  
 Παχ[ὼν  
 Two lines lost

## Column 12 (Fragment vi)

- ἡμέ[ραι κθ]  
 ἡμέρ[αι λ Π[αχών  
 ἡμερ[αι λ [Παῦνι  
 ἡμερ[αι κθ [Ἐπειφ  
 ἡμέ[ραι λ Μ[εσορῇ  
 ἡμέρ[αι κθ Ἐ[τους τετάρτου  
 ἡμέρ[αι λ [  
 ἡμέρ[αι κθ [  
 ἡμέρ[αι λ

## Fragment vii, unplaced (same hand as Column 9 onwards)

- (1) ]..[ (2) ]. ωι Ἐρμῆ[ς (3) τι δι[ (4) ]νω Δημῆ[τηρ  
 (5) ]ος Ἡφαίστο[ς (6) κατὰ σελ]ήν[ην] νουμ[ηνι (7) ].[

## COMMENTARY

Lines 1-12 (reckoning of interest due for Pharmuthi): 'collect from Arsaces on 1 talent, 120 drachmae; from Ptolemarchus on 1 tal., 120 dr.; from Euphron on 1 tal., 120 dr.; from Ptolemy son of Perdiccas on 2,000 dr., 40 dr.; in sundry ways due through Menecrates, on 3,000 dr., 60 dr.; from Menecrates on 3,000 dr., 60 dr.; from Tryphon, son of Cleitorios on 1,000 dr., 20 dr.; from Chionides on 100 dr., 2 dr. Total interest, 542 drachmae.'



Lines 1-72 may be set out in tabular form as follows:—

Interest for Phamenoth (entry lost) . . . . .	(542 drachmae ?)
„ „ Pharmuthi, ll. 4-12 . . . . .	542 „
Extra items for Phamenoth and Pharmuthi . . . . .	145 drachmae
<sup>1</sup> Two months total, 2l. . . . .	1,429 „
Interest for Pachon, ll. 22-39 . . . . .	482 „
„ „ Payni, ll. 30-37 . . . . .	422 „
„ „ Epeiph, ll. 38-45 . . . . .	422 „
„ „ Mesore, ll. 46-53 . . . . .	422 „
<hr/>	
Total interest, l. 54 . . . . .	2,832 drach.
Additional item for 'verification' and 'sixths' ll. 55-56 . . . . .	145 drachmae
New total, l. 57 . . . . .	2,977 „
Deduction, ll. 58-60 . . . . .	970 drachmae
New total, l. 61 . . . . .	2,007 „
Various dues :	
ll. 62-65 Strangers, for use of rubbing oil . . . . .	150 (?) drachmae
ll. 66-67 Dabreas and (Seleucus) for balances . . . . .	20 (?) „
ll. 68-69 The same, for a funeral feast . . . . .	87 „
ll. 70-71 Apollophanes . . . . .	98 (?) „
<hr/>	
Sub-total . . . . .	335
New grand total, l. 72 . . . . .	<u>2,342</u> „

- l. 4. At least one column has been lost at the beginning. Ἀρσάκην : presumably a Persian. Entries are in the accusative after a previous πρᾶξον, cf. l. 22.
- l. 5. Πτολέμαρχος : cf. ll. 24, 32, 40, 48, 87. *P. Fribourg*, 34.
- l. 11. Χιωνίδης : cf. ll. 28, 36, 44, 52, 91. Not in Preisige, *Namenbuch*.
- ll. 13-21 : sums due, reckoned for a two months' period, but obscure owing to mutilation of the head of the column.
- ll. 15-16. [. . .]νη[ν conceals a name. στάθμη : verification or certification as in *P. Teb.*, 5, 88? The restoration seems certain in view of l. 55.
- l. 18. The interpretation and expansion of ζ(ητήσον) = 'check,' is due to Mr. C. H. Roberts.
- l. 20. Ἀμβ(ιλάου) : expansion from l. 79 where Ἀμβ( ) ἐλαίου cannot be read. Cf. *B.G.U.* 1541 (Ptolemaic ostrakon from Philadelphia), where editors suggest the name is a Macedonian form of the name Ἀμφίλαος (with β for φ). Mr. Skeat informs me that Ἀββίλαος appears in *P. Lond. Inv.* 2099 (Zenon papyrus from Philadelphia).
- ll. 22-54. Reckoning of interest due for Pachon, Payni, Epeiph and Mesore.

<sup>1</sup> Not reckoned in the total of l. 54 which only covers interest, and in any case not reconcilable with it. If the 145 dr. of l. 20 is also left out of the grand total of interest, the interest due for Phamenoth will have been 542 dr., exactly that for Pharmuthi.

- l. 25. Ptolemaios has borrowed a further 3,000 drachmae.
- l. 33. Euphron has repaid 3,000 dr. in Pachon (not charged for during Payni).
- ll. 55-56. *Εὐμ(ένους)* is a far from certain reading, but *στάθμης* (cf. ll. 15-16) and *ἔκτων* (though enigmatical) seem unavoidable. After *Εὐ* there is room at most for two letters.
- ll. 58-61. A deduction from the total, cf. l. 61. *ἀφ]αιρεῖν* cannot be read. It is uncertain whether the line was indented, and whether anything is missing before *ἰαι*. The *α* (or possibly) *ε* is represented only by a linking stroke. Zeno (cf. l. 73, and margin of col. viii) was perhaps an officer of the association. For the name at Philadelphia in the early second century B.C. cf. *P. Fribourg*, 34. Edgar (*P. Mich. Zeno*, p. 48) has suggested that he was a descendant of the famous Zeno.
- ll. 62-72. Various other sums due for collection.  
*τ[οῦ]ς κεχρικότας ξένου[ς]* : for *ξένος* used for non-members of a club, cf. e.g. *P. Teb.* 894, fr. 2, 5, etc. The phrase here suggests outsiders (non-members) who have used rubbing oil in a bathing establishment or gymnasium, while members were entitled to its use free, or else perhaps made *ἐλαιοχ[ριστία]*, *B.G.U.*, 1813, 12 (cf. Claire Préaux, *Economie royale des Lagides*, p. 402, n. 2). In *P. Oxy.*, 1413, 19 and 20; 1665, 5 (third century A.D.) *χρίειν* is used absolutely for 'supply oil' (for use in the baths).
- l. 66. *Δαβρέαν* : for the name cf. *P. Teb.*, 793, 10 ; 890, 115, etc.
- l. 67. *περίλειμμα* is cited in *L.S.J.*, only from Plato, *Menexenos*, 236.
- l. 68. For *Ἐστυεῖος* as name (if this is the correct interpretation and expansion) cf. *P. Teb.*, III, index.
- ll. 73-74. A later insertion in smaller letters by the same hand. In the right margin opposite l. 73 and below, another later entry by the same hand.
- ll. 75-83. Quantities of oil due. Are these quotas (in arrear) regularly due from members ?
- l. 80. *ὕδρ[ιαν]*, cf. 81-83, which, combined, make the reading fairly certain. The pitcher in local use as measure contained more than 20 *κότυλαι*.
- ll. 84-91. Money debts described as *ἐπίκοινα χρήματα*. Cf. Introduction.  
 In the right hand margin under date 12 Thoth a second hand has made an entry relating to state of the accounts. For Apollophanes cf. ll. 70 and 80.
- ll. 92-130 : 'Year 1 of Queen Cleopatra and King Ptolemy the son, gods Epiphaneis. Table of lunar new moons, showing how they are related to the days of the Egyptian twelvemonth. The period of the table is 25 years, 309 months (including intercalary months), 9,125 days. It indicates the lunar months and which of them are full, which hollow, which intercalated ; and in what sign of the Zodiac the sun will be during each month. When the sun has traversed the 25 years it will return to the same starting point and revolve in the same manner. The first year of the period is the same as the first year as reckoned by Queen Cleopatra and King Ptolemy the son, gods Epiphaneis, in which also they took over the kingdom. The sun stood each month as follows : Thoth in Scorpio, Phaophi in Sagittarius, Hathyr in Capricorn, Choiak in Aquarius, Tybi in Pisces, Mecheir in Aries, Phamenoth in Taurus, Pharmuthi in Gemini, Pachon

in Cancer, Payni in Leo, Epeiph in Virgo, Mesore in Libra. The lunar new moons in the first year are : Thoth 20 . . . Phaophi 19 . . . Hathyr 19 . . . Choiak 19.

- ll. 92-94: for the date formula cf. l. 108-110, and *P. Frib.*, 12, 33; *P. Teb.*, 822, 978.

παράπηγμα : a tempting restoration (not too short for the space since all the letters are long ones) which gives an excellent sense, a good antecedent for οὐδ in l. 97, and a good subject for σημαί[νε] in ll. 100-101. A παράπηγμα is defined by Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*,<sup>5</sup> II, 142 ff. (cf. also A. Wilhelm, *Epitumbion H. Swoboda*, 344-345), as a list in bronze or marble of the days of the solar year according to the Zodiac together with the ordinary weather phenomena (ἐπισημασίαι). Close to the days were holes into which the dates according to the civil calendar could be plugged. If our restoration is correct, παράπηγμα is used in an extended sense, and the fixed basis is provided by the twelve months of the Egyptian year. It is not necessary to assume, though it may be the case, that the papyrus is simply a draft for a solid calendar, perhaps built of wood, for a public display of the equivalents. The term παράπηγμα, despite its origin from παραπηγνύναι, the extant examples from Ephesus (*Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1904, 904 ff.) and Diels' definition need not be restricted to an artefact in three dimensions; it seems not unnatural to suppose that by the second century B.C. the sense might have been extended to a paper table of (quasi-chronological) equivalents.

(Note by O.N. : 92-94, παράπηγμα is used frequently by Geminus, *El. astr.* XVII, for "calendar". Once (148, 26 Manitius) one finds ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν where one would expect ἐν τοῖς παραπήγμασιν. For the latest discussion of παράπηγμα cf. A. Rehm article "Episemasiai" *RE Suppl.* VII (1940), 175-198 and *Parapegmastudien*, *Abh. Bayerische Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Abt., N.F.*, 19 (1941), 145 pp.)

- l. 96. δωδεκαμή[νων] : The restoration is a little long, but there is a great variety in the amount of room required for restorations. In line 92 where exactly the same space is to be filled the restoration calls for 9 letters. δωδεκάμηνον, as Mr. Skeat points out, is well attested as a compound word.
- ll. 108-110. ὥς . . . ἄγουσι : a formal and technical expression, cf. *SIG.*<sup>3</sup>, 704, I' and K'.

The ἔτος α of Cleopatra and Philometor began probably in Summer 180 B.C. The latest date at present known for Epiphanes is 20th May 180 B.C., according to T. C. Skeat, *Mizraim*, 6, p. 33.

- l. 117. From here onwards a thicker pen has been used, but the hand is the same.
- l. 125. νομη[ν]αί : the ends of ll. 123 and 125 are preserved on fragment v, which also carries the initial letters of col. xi. Assuming this scrap to belong to the column immediately succeeding col. x, five months are lost between its starting point and the foot of col. x. This brings ναί immediately opposite l. 125. Below l. 125 the papyrus carries the same left hand margin, but no letters appear. Lines 126-130 are therefore at least four letters shorter than l. 125. For the restoration ἡμέραι καθ cf. line 140 and note.



- l. 140. The ends of lines of col. xi are on another separate fragment (No. vi). If  $\dot{I}\dot{I}$  of l. 141,  $\dot{M}$  of l. 144 and  $\dot{E}$  of l. 145 are assumed to be the initial letters of a new column (it is unfortunate that the scrap is damaged at the point where it might have shown a *paragraphus* between ll. 144 and 145, cf. 124-125 and 133-134), in that order they must represent the months as restored. By placing them where this new series is to be expected we obtain the correct positions for the ends of lines of col. xi.

# THE MASKS OF GREEK COMEDY.<sup>1</sup>

By T. B. L. WEBSTER, M.A., F.S.A.

PROFESSOR OF GREEK, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.

## I. INTRODUCTION.

THE actors of Greek comedy wore masks and these masks belonged to a fairly small number of types. Can we say on what principles poets allotted masks to plays and how far they invented new masks or used traditional masks? We have a considerable wealth of illustration: for Old and Middle Comedy terracottas, mostly Athenian and Boeotian, and vases including a very few Attic and a large number of South Italian,<sup>2</sup> and for New Comedy, besides South Italian vases (which only last into the early years of the third century B.C.), terracottas, masks in various materials, frescoes, mosaics, and reliefs, which continue well into the Christian period.<sup>3</sup> The fact that the New Comedy masks, whether painted, modelled or carved, whether by themselves, on statuettes, or in pictures, can be classified under a comparatively small number of types suggests that they ultimately go back to standard sets for productions such as are described in the catalogue of Pollux' lexicon (IV, 143-154); Pollux' list seems to be based on an Alexandrian scholar of the third century B.C.<sup>4</sup> We can also find some help in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomonikā*, a treatise probably

<sup>1</sup> Amplified from a lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 9th of March, 1949. Acknowledgments are due to the authorities of the British Museum, Ashmolean Museum, City of Stoke-on-Trent Museum and Art Gallery, and of the Metropolitan Museum, New York, for the photographs reproduced in Figs. 1-8.

<sup>2</sup> See C.Q., xlii. 19 f.

<sup>3</sup> The terracottas can be proved by their context to be later than 300 B.C. But pictures, mosaics, masks, and terracottas have been shown by Dr. Simon, *Comicae Tabellae*, 1938, 172, to derive ultimately from originals of the New Comedy period, however much transmuted into the style of the time in which they were actually made.

<sup>4</sup> Robert, *Die Masken der neueren Attischen Komödie*, 1911, 60, ascribes it to Aristophanes of Byzantium; Gordziejew, *De Julii Pollucis fontibus*, Warsaw, 1936, to Eratosthenes.

of the third century B.C., which discusses the connection between physical and mental characteristics.

Pollux (or rather his source) clearly follows Aristotle (*Poetics*, 1449 b8, a33) when he says that the masks of Old Comedy were for the most part either caricatures of particular people or were shaped to cause the maximum of laughter. But the break between what we call Middle Comedy and New Comedy was not a complete break and it is probable that Pollux' list of New Comedy masks contains three strata, masks used in Middle Comedy which were dropped by New Comedy, masks of Middle Comedy which were taken over by New Comedy, and masks invented for New Comedy. This we can, to some extent, check by comparing the vases and terracottas which belong to the Middle Comedy period with the pictorial material of the New Comedy period. In Appendix B examples of the different masks are given and under each mask the material is classified by its probable date under the two headings, 'New Comedy' and 'Old and Middle Comedy'.

## II. NEW COMEDY.

We have one valuable link between Menander and the pictorial tradition, a marble relief in the Lateran, which Studniczka<sup>1</sup> dates in the first century A.D. Much here is uncertain, but it is clear at least that we have Menander inspecting three masks, a young man, a girl and an old man; they are not the complete cast of the play, but perhaps the three speaking characters in a particular scene; they have been identified with three masks in Pollux' catalogue—the dark youth, first pseudokore, and the old man with wavy hair.<sup>2</sup> Let us consider these masks further.

The old man with wavy hair, according to Pollux, has a long fine beard, smooth brows, and looks lethargic (*νωθρὸς*). He is contrasted with the leading old man, who has a hooked nose (presumably, therefore, the old man with wavy hair has a straight

<sup>1</sup> *N. Jbb.*, xli, 25. Illustrated Robert, Fig. 96; Bieber, *Denkm.*, No. 129; *H.T.*, Fig. 223; Rostovtzeff, *Orient and Greece*, pl. lxxvii.

<sup>2</sup> See Simon, 59, 119, 92 n. 59.



or snub nose), and one brow raised. The two appear together on a marble relief in Naples<sup>1</sup> where the leading old man restrains the old man with wavy hair from attacking his son, who is dancing drunkenly, supported by his slave; a rough parallel is afforded by the scene in the *Heautontimoroumenos* (1045) where Menedemus restrains Chremes from attacking Clitipho. The same pair appear, also on a terracotta relief known in various versions<sup>2</sup>; here the slave of the wavy-haired old man has taken refuge on an altar like Daos in the papyrus fragment of the *Perinthia*. Have we then here the masks of the pairs of fathers who are so common in Menander's plays?<sup>3</sup> Let us consider how far they meet the requirements. There are four chief differences: hair, noses, brows, shape of face. Hair does not help much here except that, as we shall see later, wavy hair belongs also to the soldier and can therefore be a sign of irascibility; in the *Physiognomonika* the man of fierce temper has a great beard and his hair has a vigorous growth (808 a22). According to the same authority (811a 33 f.) straight noses are a sign of stupidity, snub noses of sensuality, and hooked noses of shamelessness or greatness of soul. Raised brows are a sign of conceit according to many texts<sup>4</sup> and therefore in old men of a readiness to criticise their juniors. A long face signified lack of sensibility and a round face shamelessness (*Physiognomonika*, 807 b27, 32). Finally, Pollux' description of the old man with wavy hair as lethargic is glossed by the author of the *Physiognomonika*: 'lethargic movements betray softness of character' (816 b25). We have therefore two basic types: an energetic old man who can, however, be calm,<sup>5</sup> and a normally calm old man, who may be subject to fits of anger, and these types can be varied further by minor alterations. Take, for instance, Nikeratos and Demeas in Menander's *Samia*; Nikeratos is a

<sup>1</sup> Illustrated Robert, Fig. 85; Bieber, *D.*, No. 130; *H.T.*, Fig. 252; Pickard-Cambridge, *Theatre of Dionysus*, Fig. 77; Rostovtzeff, *Hellenistic World*, pl. xxii, 1. Robert, 6, gives the same interpretation.

<sup>2</sup> See Pickard-Cambridge, *op. cit.*, 219, Figs. 78-79; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 425.

<sup>3</sup> For further illustrations see Appendix B, Nos. 3, 4.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Pollux II, 49; Lucian, cf. Ribbeck, *Alazon*, 12, n. 4; Caster, *Lucien et la pensée religieuse*, 1937, 122 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Only one eyebrow is raised, cf. Rumpf, *A.J.A.* (forthcoming article).

straightforward, energetic old man and can wear the leading old man's mask ; Demeas combines moments of fury with moments of idealism, which makes Nikeratos describe him as ' soft ' (197), and may therefore be the old man with wavy hair.<sup>1</sup>

Pollux also describes other old men's masks. The Lycomedian (Appendix B, No. 7) is curly-haired, long-bearded, with one eyebrow raised, and ' suggests interference ' (*polypragmosyne*) ; Megaronides in the *Trinummus* is an obvious candidate, perhaps also Smikrines in the *Epitrepontes*, as well as the characters designated by the title *Polypragmon* of plays by Heniochus, Timocles and Diphilus. The *leno* (No. 8) is ' generally like the Lycomedian, but has a slight smile on his lips and connected brows ; he has receding hair or is bald '. He is described in the *Rudens* and in the *Pseudolus* : in the *Rudens* he is ' curly, grey ' (125), ' bald like Silenus . . . twisted eyebrows, frowning forehead ' (317 f., cf. 1303 *inraso capite*) and ' bearded ' (769). Ballio in the *Pseudolus* differs in having a goat's beard<sup>2</sup> (957). Dr. Simon<sup>3</sup> suggests that the *eikonikos* (No. 19), described by Pollux at the end of the young men as ' sprinkled with grey, shaven, richly dressed, and a foreigner ', was used for rich bankers who were usually foreigners ; she quotes Lyco in the *Curculio* and Misargyrides in the *Mostellaria*. The same mask may have been used for other elderly foreigners like Crito in the *Andria*, Hanno in the *Poenulus*, and Demeas in the *Misoumenos*.

On the Lateran relief Menander holds the mask of a youth. It is difficult to decide whether it is the ' dark youth ' or the ' delicate youth ', because the main distinction between them is colour, which of course is missing on the relief. The first four youths in Pollux' catalogue are arranged in order of age, but also differ in character. The oldest, the *panchrestos* (No. 10), is an athlete and is contrasted with the ' cultured ' dark youth (No. 11), who is younger : his darkness may correspond to ' the dull dark eye which betokens moderation ' in the *Physiognomonika* (807 b36) ; the slight redness of the *panchrestos* is a sign of health and

<sup>1</sup> For other instances see table in Appendix A.

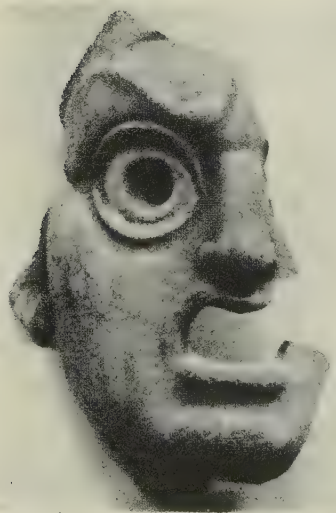
<sup>2</sup> Simon, 84-85, suggests that this was the second Hermonian (Appendix B, No. 9).

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, 94 ; cf. also Navarre, *R.E.A.*, xvi, 20 f. for relevant texts.

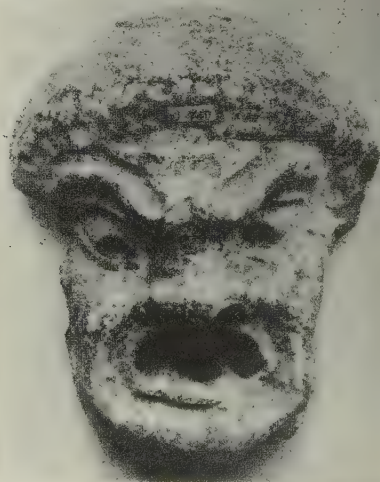


*Photo, British Museum*

1. DELICATE YOUTH



2. FLATTERER



*Photo, British Museum*

3. HOUSEKEEPER

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possible hastiness (806 b4, 808 a22) and his wrinkled forehead is a sign of courage (807 b4); these characteristics are repeated in the third young man, 'the curly-haired' (No. 12) who like the *panchrestos* has raised brows, a sign, as we have seen, of energy, contrasting with the smooth brows of the 'dark youth' and presumably of the 'delicate youth' (No. 13, fig. 1), the youngest of the quartette, whose 'whiteness' is not only due to his studies in the shade, but also betokens a certain lack of courage (812 a13). We have descriptions of two of these young men: Plesidippus (*Rudens*, 314), who is 'energetic looking, ruddy, and strong', is clearly the *panchrestos*; Philocrates in the *Captivi* (647) is described as 'thin-faced, sharp-nosed, pale, dark-eyed, reddish hair, curly' and will be the 'curly-haired youth', who is rare in Comedy. The surest pointer to the delicate boy in Menander is the presence of his pedagogue, e.g. in the *Dis Exapaton* (= *Bacchides*, Pistoclerus and Lydus), *Phasma*, and *Kolax*. The 'dark youth' is 'cultured rather than addicted to physical exercise'; Robert seems therefore justified in giving this mask to Charisios in the *Epitrepontes*.<sup>1</sup>

The 'rustic' (No. 14) has a snub nose, flat lips, a dark complexion, and a crown of hair; he should therefore be sensual and cowardly according to the *Physiognomonikā*. We have Donatus' authority that Chremes in the *Eunuch* is a rustic, and he shows himself a coward as well as getting drunk (another certain instance is Strabax in the *Truculentus*, who is clearly sensual). The rustic wears a skin according to Pollux (IV, 119), and Varro (*r.r.* 2, 11, 11) tells us that the young man in Caecilius' *Hypobolimaius*, based on Menander's *Hypobolimaïos* or *Rustic*, wore a skin; he was no doubt the true-born country son, Charippos, who is contrasted with the supposititious town son Moschion<sup>2</sup>. It seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that this mask was also worn by the country son, Ctesipho, in the *Adelphi*, who is both cowardly (537 f.) and sensual. Two other characters who presumably wear this mask because of their occupation, are quite different, Gorgias in the *Heros* and the *Georgos*.

Pollux then describes a contrasted pair of masks with wavy

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, 65.

<sup>2</sup> See *Studies in Menander*, 100, n. 1.

hair, which we have suggested is a sign of irascibility. The first is 'a soldier and a braggart with dark skin and hair' (No. 15); the second is 'more delicate and has yellow hair' (No. 16). In Menander, Bias in the *Kolax* is the traditional type of the braggart soldier; Polemon in the *Perikeiromene* is an idealisation and the mask might be somewhat softened. The second young man has yellow wavy hair, which denotes courage according to the *Physiognomonikā* (812 a16). As he is also 'delicate', he is presumably the same age as the 'delicate boy', but shares the soldier's wildness and irascibility and may have sometimes some connection with military service, which the delicate boy lacks. Dr. Simon<sup>1</sup> has suggested that Chairea in the *Eunuch* wore this mask because he was doing his ephebe service (296) and his character fits admirably; we can add Moschion of the *Samia* and Alcesimarchus of the *Synaristosai* since they both call for arms (*Sam.* 346; *Cist.* 284 ff.), and Clinias of the *Heautontimoroumenos* who has been on military service (100 f.), but is still very young (113). The Naples relief suggests that the connection with soldiers is not essential, but that the mask could be used for any wild young man about town, e.g. Moschion of the *Perikeiromene*, who is 'rich and always drunk' (22 f.). Then we may also follow Dr. Simon<sup>2</sup> in attributing this mask to Diniarchus in the *Truculentus* (610 f.) 'the soft, long-locked adulterer, lover of the shade, player of the tambourine'. This mask, with its yellow hair, pale face and straight nose, is the obvious contrast for the dark-haired, dark-complexioned, snub-nosed rustic in Menander's *Hypobolimaïos* (Moschion/Charippos), *Heros* (Pheidias/Gorgias), and *Georgos* (X/Gorgias).

Pollux mentions three parasite masks. There is no trace of the Sicilian parasite (No. 20) in Menander, but Dr. Simon has detected him in a fragment of Diphilus.<sup>3</sup> The other two are both dark, hook-nosed (probably cowardly therefore and certainly shameless according to the *Physiognomonikā*), and fat; the parasite (No. 18) is distinguished from the flatterer (No. 17, fig. 2) because his ears are more damaged and he looks more cheerful, the flatterer's brows are raised more maliciously.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, 68.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Simon, 54; Diphilus, 138K.



Gelasimus in the *Stichus*<sup>1</sup> and Gnatho in the *Kolax* are obvious examples of the two types in Menander.

Pollux lists six masks for slaves. The old slave's mask (No. 21, fig. 5) would be used for *paidagogoi* in the *Dis Exapaton*, *Phasma*, and *Kolax*, and for old men like Geta in the *Adelphi*. Two masks are assigned by Pollux to leading slaves: 'the leading slave (No. 22, fig. 6) has a roll of red hair (a sign of hastiness and shamelessness according to the *Physiognomonika*), raised eyebrows, knitted brows; takes the same position among the slaves as the leading old man among the free . . . the leading slave with wavy hair (No. 27, fig. 8) is like the leading slave except for his hair'. The description in the *Pseudolus* (1217 ff.) and the *Asinaria* (400 ff.) would fit either. Of the other slaves the 'straight-haired' (No. 23) has receding red hair and raised eyebrows; the curly-haired (No. 24) has receding red hair and squints; Maison (No. 25) is bald and red; Tettix (No. 26) is bald and black with two or three locks on his forehead and in his beard. The last two are cooks and, according to Athenaeus (XIV, 659a) Maison was the citizen cook and Tettix the foreign cook; according to Festus (p. 134) the Maison mask was used for 'cooks, sailors, and such like'. It is interesting that these two masks are included among the slave masks, although cooks were usually free in New Comedy; Dr. Simon<sup>2</sup> rightly points out that the distinction in external appearance between poor citizen and slave was very small in Athens; the cook might be a citizen or a foreigner or a freed man or a slave. We are only concerned to note that Menander had two cooks to use, and the red-haired Maison is more energetic and courageous than the black-haired Tettix. Robert<sup>3</sup> seems to me therefore to be right in giving the Maison mask to Congrio and the Tettix mask to Anthrax in the *Apistos* (*Aulularia*).

Pollux' list of female masks starts with three old women. The first (No. 28) is the withered, long-faced, wolfish woman with many thin wrinkles, a yellow complexion, and a roving eye (in the *Physiognomonika* (808, a18) the outward signs of bitterness are a withered skin and a wrinkled, fleshless face). The fat old

<sup>1</sup> Note that Gelasimus carries strigil and lekythos, *Stichus*, 230, cf. Pollux IV, 120.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, 74.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, 73, cf. however, Simon, *op. cit.*, 74.

woman (No. 29) has fat wrinkles in a fat face and a ribbon round her hair (it may be relevant to remember that the 'dissembler' in the *Physiognomonika* (808, a27) has fat surrounding his face and wrinkles round the eyes). The third (No. 30, fig. 3) is the little old housekeeper with a snub-nose and two teeth in each jaw. We may take Staphyla in the *Aulularia* as the typical wearer of the little housekeeper mask and the *lena* of the *Cistellaria*<sup>1</sup> as the typical wearer of the fat woman's mask. Many examples in literature can be given of both<sup>2</sup>. The wolfish old woman still eludes us; Dr. Simon<sup>3</sup>, following Robert, divides the *lenae* between the 'wolfish old woman' and the 'fat old woman', because of the associations of the name in Greek and Latin. If, however, the long nose is the distinguishing feature of the mask it may rather have been worn by the more domineering kind of wife, like Menander's Krobyle whose nose is a cubit long (402K).

The next group of masks is all classed together by Pollux as young women. Three are going to be married: the maiden (No. 33) and the two false-maidens (Nos. 34 and 35). Dr. Simon<sup>4</sup> has given a convincing explanation of the term false-maiden; she is a maiden because her parents will be discovered before the end of the play, but she is a false-maiden because she has already lived with the man whom she will marry. The obvious examples are Selenium in the *Synaristosai* (= *Cistellaria*), Antiphila in the *Heautontimoroumenos*, and Glykera in the *Perikeiromene*. It is difficult to see why there should be two such masks. Dr. Simon thinks that a distinction can be drawn between the gentle Antiphila and the stronger Glykera and Selenium, but this is too fine a distinction to warrant a different mask. There is another possible class of characters who could be called false-maidens—the women who have been raped in youth, who have brought

<sup>1</sup> The opening scene of the *Cistellaria* (= Menander's *Synaristosai*) may be illustrated by the Dioscurides mosaic (Appendix B, 29, i. (b)).

<sup>2</sup> *Little Housekeeper*: Sophrone (*Epitr.*, *Heros*, *Eun.*, *Phormio*); Nurse (*Samia*); Canthara (*Ad.*); Crocotium (*Stichus*); Gyddenis (*Poen.*) ancilla Calliclis (*Truc.*); Philinna (*Georgos*); Syra (*Mercator*); Pardalisca (*Casina*); Ptolemaia (*Rudens*); Nurse (*Hecyra*); *Fat Woman*: Lesbia (*Andria*); Syra (*Truc.*); Cleareta (*Ad.*); Leaena (*Curc.*)

<sup>3</sup> 131 and 129, n. 7, cf. also Navarre, *R.E.A.*, xvi. 27.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, 101.

up their children, and who certainly (or probably) marry at the end of the play; they are the priestess in the *Hiereia*, Myrrhine in the *Georgos*, and Dorippa in the *Epidicus*. The only other possible mask for them (they are not wives, they are hardly 'little old women' if they are going to marry) is the 'concubine', but a 'concubine' should surely be living with a man when the play opens and is not finally married. As Pollux' list places the oldest of each kind first, these women presumably wore the first 'false-maiden' mask; the second type is, in fact, worn by Selenium on the Dioscurides mosaic.

The 'maiden' knows her citizen origin and has not yet lived with a man, but is in some misfortune like Palaestra in the *Rudens*, Krateia in the *Misoumenos*, the girl in the *Kolax*, or Adelphasium in the *Poenulus* (we must suppose that Anterastilis wore the same mask with slight variation). The maiden has straight dark brows, parted hair and a white face. The false-maiden has her hair bound about the front of her head and looks like a bride, the second version differs only in having her hair parted.

There are two masks for wives: the garrulous with a wreath of hair (No. 31) and the curly-haired (No. 32); Dr. Simon<sup>1</sup> suggests that the main distinction is between the garrulous wife who bullies her husband—Menander's Krobyle, the heiress wife of the *Plokion*, whose nose is a cubit long (402K) and who is more talkative than a dove (416K), is the perfect example<sup>2</sup>—and the curly-haired wife who is for some reason or other distressed, e.g. Pamphile in the *Epitrepontes*.<sup>3</sup> This distinction is not maintained in the plays where two wives appear (e.g. *Casina*, *Hecyra*, *Stichus*) and Myrrhine in the *Perikeiromene* and Eunomia in the *Aulularia* do not fit into either category. We may therefore prefer to think that the 'garrulous' is the normal mask for the wife, and that the 'curly-haired' was introduced for the second wife, when a second wife was needed; Menander's Krobyle and her like might, as we have suggested, more suitably wear the mask of the 'wolfish old woman'.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, 104, 107.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Artemona in *Asinaria*, Nausistrata in *Phormio*, Dorippa in *Mercator*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Myrrhine in the *Heros*, Sostrata in the *Heautontimoroumenos* and *Adelphi*, Phanostrata in the *Synaristosai* (*Cistellaria*), who will then wear an older version of the curly-haired mask.



Pollux' list of hetairae is introduced by two which are not hetairae in the normal sense. The 'greying garrulous (No. 36) ... signifies a hetaira who has ceased her trade' and 'the concubine (No. 37) is like her but has a wreath of hair'. The concubine's mask was worn by Chrysis in the *Samia*.<sup>1</sup> There are three candidates for the 'greying garrulous': Melaenis in the *Cistellaria*, Scapha in the *Mostellaria*, Syra in the *Hecyra*. Melaenis was a hetaira and must be distinguished from the *lena*; she therefore seems likely. Scapha and Syra are more doubtful; Scapha has been a concubine rather than a hetaira (*Most.* 199 f.); Syra shows a similar realism based perhaps on similar experience (*Hec.* 63 f.); they are not *lenae* and they are too old to wear the mask of the hetaira's maid; they may then be 'greying garrulous'.

Of the hetaira masks it is clear that the 'fullgrown' (No. 38) is older than the 'blooming' hetaira (No. 39) and the masks might be used for a pair of sisters like the Bacchides in their name play. The 'golden' hetaira (No. 40) must be a rich and independent hetaira; the 'blooming' hetaira and 'little torch' (No. 42) both appear as musicians and therefore are likely to be owned by a *leno* or under the control of their mothers. We have no evidence of the status of the wimpled hetaira (No. 41) except that, on the monuments, she generally looks young. We have, therefore, probably two masks for the independent hetairae and three for the dependent hetairae.

In the plays we find the independent hetaira who may be either voracious (Thais in her name play, Phronesium in the *Truculentus*) or good-hearted (Thais in the *Eunuch*, Bacchis and perhaps Philotis in the *Hecyra*), and the dependent hetaira maintained by a *leno* (the harpist in the *Adelphi*, Habrotonon in the *Perikeiromene* and *Epitrepontes*, the two harpists in the *Epidicus*, Phoenicium in the *Pseudolus*, Philematium and presumably Delphium in the *Mostellaria*) or by her mother (Gymnasium in the *Cistellaria*, Philaenium in the *Asinaria*) or by a citizen (Pasicompsa in the *Mercator*, Acroteleutium in the *Miles*)<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> I assume that Chrysis was not finally recognised as an Athenian citizen and married to Demeas. Cf. *Studies in Menander*, 46.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps, however, when Acroteleutium and Milphidippa appear, they wear the masks suitable to the parts that they play: wife and wife's maid.

Pollux finally describes the masks of the wife's maid (No. 43) and the hetaira's maid (No. 44). The former would be worn by Stephanium in the *Stichus* and by the disguised Milphidippa in the *Miles*, probably also by Doris in the *Periœiromene* who is Polemon's slave, and the latter by Mysis in the *Andria*, Pythias in the *Eunuch*, Astaphium in the *Truculentus*, and probably by Ampelisca in the *Rudens*<sup>1</sup>.

This completes our survey of Pollux' list and we can provisionally answer one of our questions: how far were the masks of New Comedy traditional? The answer appears to be that the pictorial material gives no evidence before the New Comedy period for the following masks: leading old man, old man with wavy hair, *eikōnikos*, *panchrestos*, dark youth, curly youth, delicate youth, and the blooming hetaira. If we consider the characters to which we have allocated these masks, they include (except for the *eikōnikos* who is a minor and unimportant invention) many that would naturally be regarded as typical creations of the New Comedy, such as Demea and Micio of the *Adelphi* (Menander), Plesidippus of the *Rudens* (Diphilus), Charisois of the *Epitrepontes* (Menander), Philocrates of the *Captivi*, the terror- and love-stricken boy of the *Phasma* (Menander), and Philematium of the *Mostellaria* (Philemon). We can see them as the outcome of two strains in New Comedy: the two old men, the dark youth, and the delicate youth spring from the character comedy of Menander; the *panchrestos*, the curly-haired youth, and the little hetaira belong rather to the adventurous comedy of Philemon and Diphilus.

To answer our first question—on what principle poets allotted masks to plays—we must make an assumption and consider how far it is justified. Two of the new masks are the masks of fathers of families, who are distinguished by their hair (Quintilian<sup>2</sup>, describing the leading old man, calls him *pater ille*). Pollux says that the leading slave, who has the same hairdressing as the leading old man, 'stands in the same relation to the slaves as the leading old man to the free' and then that 'the wavy-

<sup>1</sup> Oeri, *Typ der komischen Alten*, Basel, 1949, 58 f., makes Pythias in the *Eunuch* and Astaphium in the *Truculentus* old. I see no reason to follow this.

<sup>2</sup> xi, 3, 74.

haired leading slave is in all respects like the leading slave except for his hair'. He (or rather his source) seems to indicate a distinction of two households by hairdressing, and this is made possible by introducing the two old men's masks to correspond to the two traditional slave masks. The *panchrestos*, 'dark youth', and 'tender youth' are added as possible sons for the leading old man; the rustic, who has a similar 'wreath of hair', already existed. The first and second youths with wavy hair already existed as possible sons for the new 'father with wavy hair'—we do in fact know of one case where a soldier's father appeared, the *Misoumenos* of Menander. Finally, the introduction of the 'curly-haired youth' made a third household possible with the curly-haired old man (the Lycomedian) and the curly-haired slave. The white-haired slave, according to monumental evidence, should belong to the household of the leading old man, but, as we shall see, his role may be less restricted.

The representations of New Comedy scenes give us a little evidence that masks were allotted on this principle. We have already noticed two examples<sup>1</sup>; on the Naples relief wavy-haired old man flies out at wavy-haired son, who is supported by wavy-haired slave, and on the terracotta relief wavy-haired slave escapes from wavy-haired old man by sitting on an altar; in both the leading old man, who protests, clearly represents another household. Among the pictorial representations collected by Dr. Simon, the following show the same principle: No. 1 (= Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 238), *panchrestos* with little torch listens to white-haired slave addressing the public (general situation as *Ad.* 300 f.); No. 5 (= Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 228), white-haired slave looks on in horror as leading slave revels with blooming hetaira (general situation, end of *Stichus* and beginning of *Mostellaria*); No. 7 (= Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 229) leading old man leaves young wife in fury, wavy-haired slave (belonging to husband) overhears (general situation, *Stichus* and *Epitrepontes*); No. 8 (= Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 239)<sup>2</sup> *panchrestos* and delicate boy (elder and younger brother) revel with young hetaira (general situation, assumed in first act of *Adelphi*); No. 14 (= Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 237) leading

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 99, n. 1 and 2.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix B, 10, i (a).



slave flatters and persuades wavy-haired soldier slave (= *Pseudolus* and *Harpax* in the *Pseudolus*); No. 16 (= Robert, figs. 54 and 61) white-haired slave watches delicate boy night-walking (= Menander, *Epikleros*, 164K with Turpilius, Ribbeck 91, I(12)50); No. 18 (= Robert, fig. 86) wavy-haired old man interrogating wavy-haired slave (Robert regards as illustration of *Samia* 91 f.); No. 21 (= Robert, fig. 53, Haigh, fig. 27) leading old man tells a story to pensive white-haired slave (Simon suggests first scene of *Andria*; but perhaps rather *Heautontimoroumenos*, 749 ff.).

In all these, the principle of distinguishing households by hairdressing seems to be upheld. We may therefore interpret three other monuments in the same sense. The Menander relief shows three masks, the dark or delicate boy, the older pseudokore, and the wavy-haired old man. The *Hiereia* would be a possibility; the mask of the first pseudokore is the priestess herself; the old man is the chief character who finally discovers his children and marries her; the boy is the son of her neighbour, whom the old man mistakenly addresses as his own son. There are two well-known marble reliefs, each with four masks; in one (Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 259) the masks are leader, leading slave, delicate youth, and in the background second wavy-haired boy (not, as Bieber says, a satyr); this would fit the *Heautontimoroumenos*—Chremes, Syrus, Clitipho and Clinia. The other (Bieber, fig. 258) shows flatterer, wavy-haired old man, wavy-haired slave and delicate boy; in the *Phormio*, Phormio is the flatterer, his chief intrigues are directed against Demipho and he operates with Demipho's slave Geta, but the son of Chremes, Phaedria, is also a necessary character in the plot. I do not claim these as illustrations of the plays named; I only maintain that they are intelligible in the light of the plays.

We can now examine the surviving plays to see how far it is justifiable to assume that masks were allotted on the principle of distinguishing households by hairdressing. The accompanying table (Appendix A) shows the male characters arranged under the three households, which are distinguished by the three forms of hairdressing, 'wreath or coil of hair, wavy hair, curly hair'; the characters on which the attributions are based are *italicised*;

the reasons for identification have for the most part been already discussed, but the notes discuss debatable points. The order within each form of hairdressing is (1) old man, (2) young man, (3) slave. The exceptions are not many or important. We notice that another type of white-haired slave is needed to fit into the wavy-haired household and in the *Adelphi* the aged Geta stands outside both households, and we may assume in these cases the use of one of the traditional masks without the roll of hair which seems to appear in the New Comedy illustrative material. There is a similar difficulty in the *Casina*, *Rudens* and *Miles*, where an extra slave is required in the wavy-haired household who is not an aged slave. Only in the *Eunuch* have we to assume two similar masks slightly differing in age for the brothers ; a parallel is afforded by the two girls in the *Poenulus* (see above). The table shows up a few points of greater interest. Adopted sons wear the hairdressing of the family into which they have been adopted (*Adelphi*, *Aulularia*), and sons who will be recognised wear the hairdressing of the family which will claim them (*Heros*, *Georgos*, *Captivi*, cf. also *Hiereia*) ; in the same way daughters who will be recognised are marked by the masks of maiden, or false-maiden, although they may be in fact at the moment slave or concubine (e.g. *Rudens*, *Cistellaria*).

There is no clear difference in character between the two leading slaves, with and without wavy hair, and the masks were allotted to fit the household to which the slave belonged. But where father and son wore masks with the same hairdressing, this could signify more than community of household. In Menander particularly fathers got the sons that they deserved. The sons of the leading old men have three masks available ; for the sons of the old man with the wavy hair there is normally only one mask, since the soldier son, as far as we know, was extremely rare. There is, however, a common quality, perhaps best described as emotionalism and often expressed in a momentary desire to go to war, which unites the youths with wavy hair. In their fathers this quality shows itself in various ways ; one form is mildness, or a refusal to act consistently by conventional standards ; clear cases are Demeas in the *Samia*, Micio in the *Adelphi*, Chremes in the *Phormio*, and Daemones in the *Rudens*. A rather different form is

seen in the anxiety and troubles which Menedemus in the *Heautontimoroumenos* and Charmides in the *Trinummus* give themselves on behalf of their sons. A less pleasant form of emotionalism is the prurience of Nicobulus in the *Bacchides*, Lysidamus in the *Casina*, and Demipho in the *Mercator*. I think it quite possible that these three types were all given the same mask on the ground that they were all deviations from the strictness of the severe father.

The developed system of New Comedy masks emphasises the contrasts which the poet wants to point between characters differing in age, household, position, or sex. Menander perhaps makes the fullest use of this technique; for instance, in the *Epitrepontes*, Charisios is contrasted with Chairestratos, but also with Pamphile, Onesimos and Smikrines; Pamphile is contrasted with Habrotonon as well as with her father; Onesimos is contrasted with Habrotonon as well as with Charisios and Smikrines; Syriskos is contrasted with Daos. But we can see the same technique in the other poets—in Diphilus' *Rudens* Palaestra and Ampelisca, in Philemon's *Mostellaria* Grumio and Tranio or Lysiteles and Lesbonicus in his *Trinummus*.

There is another kind of contrast which is important. It is generally accepted that Menander gave an entirely new and sympathetic interpretation of certain traditionally satiric characters, notably the soldier (Polemon in the *Perikeiromene*), the rich hetaira (Chrysis in the *Eunuch*), and probably also the flatterer (Gnatho in the *Kolax*). He does not seem to have invented new masks for these, but rather to have played on the contrast between the original mask and the new conception of the character. We may perhaps therefore explain the use of the rustic mask for such differing characters as Chremes in the *Eunuch* and Gorgias in the *Georgos* in the same way; Gorgias is the sympathetic new edition of the traditional rustic.

### III. OLD AND MIDDLE COMEDY

For Old and Middle Comedy we have not so much help either from monumental and literary evidence or from the plays and fragments themselves. New Comedy arose suddenly and



fixed the style for all succeeding comic masks; Old Comedy developed from rudimentary performances which we can trace back at least to the early sixth century B.C., and continued developing, as I suggested in an earlier lecture <sup>1</sup>, until superseded by New Comedy. We are therefore dealing with something which is changing all the time.

Some of the masks in Pollux' list—the first old man, second old man, first Hermonian, wedge-beard, and second Hermonian—appear so rarely in the New Comedy material that they must be survivals from the preceding period <sup>2</sup>. Others, though common in New Comedy, can also be traced back on vases or terracottas into the Middle Comedy, or even into the Old Comedy period <sup>3</sup>: they are the Lycomedian, the *leno*, the rustic, the second youth with wavy hair, the flatterer, the parasite, the Sicilian parasite, all the slaves, the old women, the young women (except the little blooming hetaira), and the maids. We can suggest when a few of these masks were introduced <sup>4</sup>: although the parasite was already a character in Epicharmus' comedy and Eupolis' *Kolakes*, produced in 420 B.C., had a chorus of parasites (159K), the single parasite was much more common in the fourth century and the three different types of parasite masks belong to Middle Comedy rather than Old Comedy; similarly, although a flute girl has a small part in Aristophanes *Wasps* and *Thesmophoriazusae* and Pherekrates introduced two hetairae into his *Korianno* <sup>5</sup>, hetairae became much more common in Middle Comedy and with the hetairae were presumably introduced both their maids and, for the younger hetairae, their owners the *lena* and the *leno*, who first wore the second Hermonian mask and then later his own mask. The various adventures which can be classed under

<sup>1</sup> *R.B.*, xxix, 153. Cf. also *C.Q.*, xlii, 19, where I have argued for the survival of the Old Comedy costume through the period of the Middle Comedy.

<sup>2</sup> Hermon, who gave his name to two of these masks, was an actor of Aristophanes' time.

<sup>3</sup> I include only those masks which survive comparatively unchanged. I have omitted the beardless Neoptolemus (see Appendix B, 15, ii, B) because I think he is much younger than the normal Middle Comedy soldier.

<sup>4</sup> For the dating of the Middle Comedy parasite (before 350 and possibly before 360 B.C.) hetaira (390/380 B.C.) intrigue (350-340 B.C.), and recognition (350-30 B.C.) plays see *Studies in Menander*, 164 f., 171 f.

<sup>5</sup> We have no clear reason for dating any play of Pherekrates after 420 B.C.

the general headings of rape and rescue also belong to Middle Comedy and for them the masks of maidens and false-maidens were needed. Auge, who wears the second false-maiden mask on an Attic terracotta and a Campanian vase, is a mythological ancestress of false-maidens.<sup>1</sup>

Pollux follows his list of tragic masks with 'special masks' which he concludes with the words: 'these could also be comic masks'. Some of them we can connect with Old or Middle Comedies of various dates: Argos for the *Panoptai* of Cratinus, Centaur for the various plays entitled *Centaur* or *Cheiron* (one is illustrated by an Athenian vase of the late fifth century), Titan for the *Ploutoi* of Cratinus,<sup>2</sup> Giant for the *Giants* of the younger Cratinus, City for the *Cities* of Eupolis, Anaxandrides, and Heniochos<sup>3</sup> (cf. the *Islands* of Plato and Pseudo-Aristophanes; the *Demes* of Eupolis and the *Laws* of Cratinus (126K) must however be male), Muses for the *Muses* of Phrynichus, etc., Seasons for the *Seasons* of Aristophanes and Anaxilas and presumably for individual seasons like Autumn in Aristophanes' *Peace*,<sup>4</sup> and finally Drunkenness, who appears as Cratinus' mistress in his *Pytine* and presumably later spoke the prologue of Menander's *Methe*. Aristophanes himself tells us something of the masks worn by two personifications: the Clouds are 'like mortal women' and 'have noses' (341, 394), and Poverty in the *Plutus* (423 ff.) is a cross between a tragic fury and a landlady; Clouds and Poverty may therefore both have worn the mask ascribed above to the wolfish old woman.<sup>5</sup>

We can form some idea of the masks of the animal choruses

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C.Q., xlii, 21. We probably have the casts of three Middle Comedies, the originals of Plautus, *Amphitruo*, *Persa*, and *Menaechmi*. On the *Amphitruo* see below. *Persa* needs three slave masks, parasite, hetaira, hetaira's maid, maiden, *leno*; *Menaechmi* two identical young men, slave, hetaira, hetaira's maid, cook (*Maison*), old man, wife, doctor (see below).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Page, *Greek Literary Papyri*, fr. 38, 9. Pieters, *Kratinos*, Leiden, 1946, 88 f. For the Centaur vase see Appendix B, 15, ii, B (a).

<sup>3</sup> The play from which fr. 5K comes was presumably called *Cities*. On the *Islands*, cf. Beazley, *Vases in Poland*, 63.

<sup>4</sup> Eirene herself was a colossal figure; we may perhaps recognise her on a Campanian kalyx krater in Glasgow (Appendix B, 5 f.); if so, this mask was later adopted for the curly-haired wife.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. my *Interplay*, 15.

of the Old Comedy from the masks worn by the earlier animal dancers who are represented on vases.<sup>1</sup> Satyr choruses occur in comedies by Ecphantides, Cratinus, Phrynichus, and Timocles; the satyrs cannot have worn the normal costume of satyrs in a satyr play but must have been caricatured; it seems to me at least possible that they looked like the fat hairy satyrs which we know from Corinthian plastic vases<sup>2</sup>. A chorus of Pans on a vase of about 460 B.C. in the British Museum<sup>3</sup> may represent a chorus from Comedy; a young Pan mask survives on a Gnathia fragment in the possession of Professor Sir J. D. Beazley (it will be remembered that Pan spoke the prologue in Menander's *Dyskolos*).

Pollux says that the masks of Old Comedy were for the most part made like the persons who were represented in the comedies. We must therefore assume that characters from contemporary life wore masks which were either portraits or caricatures and that this practice continued at any rate to the time of Aristophanes's *Plato*. There were sometimes exceptions: Aristophanes tells us in the *Knights* (230) that the Paphlagonian does not wear a portrait mask of Cleon. Pericles appeared as Zeus in the *Thracian Women* (71K) and *Nemesis* (111K) and as Dionysus in the *Dionysalexandros*<sup>4</sup> of Cratinus; Professor Schmid<sup>5</sup> says that in the *Nemesis* Pericles wore the mask of Zeus; for this there is no evidence and it is more likely that in each case the actor wore a portrait mask of Pericles and the attributes of the god with whom Pericles was identified; in the *Dionysalexandros* (38K) we know that he had the thyrsus, saffron robe, coloured cloak, and drinking cup of Dionysus. For Aeschylus and the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, etc.*, 245-247; Bieber, *H.T.*, Figs. 76-79, Brommer, *A.A.*, 1942, 65, perhaps also Dugas, *B.C.H.*, lxx, 172.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Maximova, *Les Vases Plastiques*, Nos 158 and 159. The Silen on an Apulian vase (Appendix B, 26, ii) wears a *tettix* (slave) mask and may therefore be a satyr in comedy.

<sup>3</sup> London, E 467; Beazley, *A.R.V.*, 420-422; Bieber, *D.*, No. 39, pl. 51; Pickard-Cambridge, *Dith.*, Figs. 14-15; Webster, *Niobidenmaler*, pl. 15 a, b.

<sup>4</sup> Demianczuk, *Supplementum Comicum*, 235.

<sup>5</sup> *Geschichte der Griechischen Litteratur*, iv, 76. So also Pieters, *Kratinos* 1946, 56, although he admits that Perikles wore his own mask in the *Thracian Women*, but the similar terminology of 71K and 111K implies the same mask in both.



leading Athenian statesmen of the fifth century back to the time of the battle of Marathon paintings or statues were well known and could be copied, but what about Hesiod, Archilochus, Sappho and Alcaeus? If Zahn was right in interpreting the two figures on an Apulian bell krater as Sappho and Alcaeus, both wore standard masks with no sign of individual portraiture.<sup>1</sup> Moreover the natural explanation of the plural titles, *Archilochoi*, *Hesiodoi*, etc., is that the chief actor and the chorus wore the same masks; twenty-five portraits of Archilochus would be unlikely, but twenty-five bitter ancients led by one named Archilochus is feasible.

Portrait masks may sometimes have survived as standard masks, but we lack conclusive evidence. Masks of course bore some relation to contemporary styles of hairdressing, etc.; the New Comedy mask of the braggart soldier undoubtedly reproduces a fashion which originated with Alexander. The masks of the hetairae probably derive from individual hetairae, who may have themselves figured in comedy. It is very tempting to say that we can see the beginning of clean-shaven masks for young men in the portrait masks of Cleisthenes and Agathon in the *Thesmophoriazusae* (191, 575). We have, as far as I know, no evidence in the Old Comedy for beardless masks of men except these two, who are both luxurious effeminates; twenty years later in the *Ecclesiazusae* (24) Praxagora and her friends still put on beards to disguise themselves as men and she is described as 'a good-looking fair young man like Nicias' (428), which shows that young men still normally wore beards. The mask of Kotilos on a Paestan vase<sup>2</sup> of the mid-fourth century is a link between Aristophanes' Agathon and the beardless youths of New Comedy, but the monuments show that the normal masks of youths in Middle Comedy were bearded.

Special masks might have been expected for the gods but such evidence as we have is against it. Apollo on another Paestan vase<sup>3</sup> wears the same mask as Kotilos. Similarly the

<sup>1</sup> Zahn, *die Antike*, 1931, 90 f., cf. also *C.Q.*, xlii, 23.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix B, 16, ii, B.

<sup>3</sup> Bell krater, Leningrad; Bieber, *D.*, No. 105, *H.T.*, Fig. 355; Heydemann, q.; Trendall, *Paestan*, No. 35.

mask worn by Zeus on an Attic vase and on a Paestan vase is worn on other vases by an old man, Odysseus, Kreon, and a slave.<sup>1</sup> The long nose of this mask may well be the inspiration of a line preserved from Archippus' *Amphitryon* (1K): 'and this though your snout is so long'. This mask would also be worn by Zeus and Amphitryon in the original of Plautus' *Amphitruo* (*Amphitruo* is an old man, 1032); Hermes on the other hand wore the mask of a bearded slave (445). A fragment of Plato (188K) suggests that Hermes had no fixed mask, and he appears on vases both as a rustic youth and as a bearded man.<sup>2</sup> Herakles (fig. 7) on the other hand had a special mask which we know both from Attic terracottas and from South Italian vases.<sup>3</sup>

Our chief evidence for the normal masks of Old Comedy is Aristophanes. The plays show a great variation in the number of characters, from five in the *Knights* to twenty-one in the *Acharnians* and different masks cannot have been provided for all the characters in the larger casts. It would obviously be convenient in the *Acharnians* if the ambassador wore the same mask as Theoros, and the Megarian the same mask as the Boeotian (all four parts according to van Leeuwen were taken by the second actor) and if the sycophant, Nikarchos, and the servant of Lamachos and the two messengers wore the same mask (all parts taken by the third actor) but we must not forget one very quick and certain change of mask; in the *Ecclesiazusae* the first old woman goes off at l. 1044 and the actor comes on again at l. 1049 as the second old woman, who is yet more hideous than the first<sup>4</sup>; but this change of mask does not involve a change of costume. Two further pieces of evidence suggest that different characters wore similar masks. In the set of terracottas in New York, which I have associated with Eubulus' *Auge*,<sup>5</sup> three characters wear the same mask—the man with the basket, the man with the water-pot,

<sup>1</sup> For references see Appendix B, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix B, 14B; 10d.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix B, 15, B.

<sup>4</sup> According to Van Leeuwen's allotment of parts a still quicker change is necessary in the *Thesmophoriazusae* when Euripides, wearing a portrait mask, goes off at 927 and the actor comes on again at 929 as the Prytanis; the solution here, I think, is that Kritylla is not taken by the third actor but by a member of the chorus and the third actor is free to take the Prytanis.

<sup>5</sup> C.Q., xlii, 21.



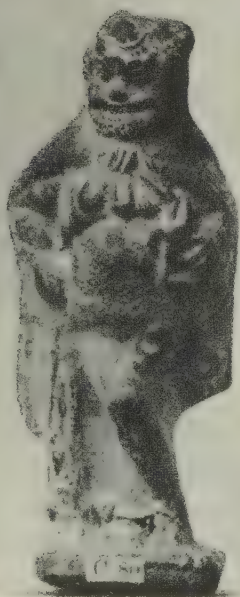
THE MET. MUSEUM, N.Y.  
4. FIRST HERMONIAN



5. OLD SLAVE



6. LEADING SLAVE



7. HERAKLES



8. WAVY-HAIRED SLAVE

[To face p. 117]





and the seated man (Bieber, *H.T.*, figs. 126-8); they may be the same character at three different moments, but, as the other New York set has no repeated masks, I prefer to think that three different characters wore the same mask.

The other piece of evidence needs more discussion. In Comedy the gap between the homogeneous mass of chorus and the actors is often lessened in various ways. The members of the chorus may be differentiated from each other. In Ameipsias' *Konnos* (cf. particularly 9, 11K) some at least of the chorus wore portrait masks—of Socrates and the Sophists; in the *Peace* the chorus are 'farmers, merchants, carpenters, craftsmen, resident aliens, foreigners, and islanders' (296 f.) but were presumably differentiated by equipment (cf. 729) and dress rather than by mask.<sup>1</sup> The fragments of the *Odysseus* of Cratinus (142-4K) show that the chorus was composed of the sailors of Odysseus, and Odysseus himself evidently took the chief part: the plural title probably signifies that Odysseus and his sailors all wore the same mask.<sup>2</sup>

In the *Lysistrata*, *Thesmophoriazusae*, and *Ecclesiazusae* chorus women have speaking parts either when they first come on or in the course of the play.<sup>3</sup> *Lysistrata* is distinguished from the chorus by being younger and having raised eyebrows (8,707): but there is no evidence that Praxagora differs from the other women in the *Ecclesiazusae*.

In New Comedy each character had a different mask and we can see this practice beginning with the masks newly introduced in Middle Comedy; in Old Comedy it seems likely that there was no such rule. Our best approach to the masks of Old Comedy will then be to examine those scenes where a multiplicity of masks is desirable, particularly when the characters are of the same general type, and to note the rather rare descriptions of characters' appearances. We can start with a certainty; at the end of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the birds which come on singly before the main body of the chorus (*Birds*, 267 f.).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cratinus *Archilochoi*, *Cheirones*, *Kleoboulinaí*, Teleclides, *Hesiodoi*.

<sup>3</sup> In the *Lysistrata* I take Kalonike, Myrrhine, and the three women (437 f., 434 f.), to be members of the chorus; in the *Thesmophoriazusae* the third woman (760 f., see above p. 116, n. 4), in the *Ecclesiazusae* the three women of the opening scene.

*Ecclesiazusae* the three old women, each uglier than the last, must be distinguished by mask; the first, who is snub-nosed (940), presumably wears the 'little housekeeper'; the third, who is like a toad and a monkey (1072, 1101) is the fat woman<sup>1</sup>; the second by elimination should be the wolfish old woman. At the beginning of the *Lysistrata* three masks are needed, for Lysistrata who has raised brows (8,707), the chorus who are older (8, 197, 319, 637), and Lampito. Presumably Lampito and Lysistrata wear the straight and snub-nosed masks of middle aged women and the chorus the snub-nosed mask with smooth brows like the choreuts on the krater in Heidelberg.<sup>2</sup> As the chorus are called 'seed of the agora, sellers of eggs and vegetables' (456), the same mask would suit the bakeress in the *Wasps*.

We have also some indication of the masks worn by men. In the *Plutus* Chremylos, Ploutos, and Blepsidemos must be distinguished: Blepsidemos is characterised as interfering (335), which is the mask of Pollux' Lycomedian; Ploutos is described as 'wrinkled, bald, and toothless' (265) and is as bitter at his first appearance as he is cheerful when he returns with eyesight restored; he might well wear on his return the mask of the first *Pappos*, whom Pollux characterises as cheerful, and a special variant for his first entry. The *Birds* provides us with another hint. Pisthetairos is contrasted with Euelpides, a 'plucked blackbird' with 'a caricature of a goose' (805/6); Euelpides therefore wears a long-nosed mask and Pisthetairos a short-nosed mask. Pisthetairos must later be distinguished from Poseidon (1565); in that scene Herakles will wear the normal Herakles mask and Triballo the mask of a foreign slave. Poseidon should wear the long-nosed mask worn by Zeus on the Attic oenochoe<sup>3</sup> and the same may have been worn earlier by Euelpides. On the Campanian kalyx krater which may illustrate the *Peace*<sup>4</sup> the old man has thick but receding hair and a long, blunt beard and may be the First Hermonian (fig. 4). If he is Trygaios he is a

<sup>1</sup> So also the old woman in the *Plutus* (1035-1036).

<sup>2</sup> Lampito: see Appendix B, 37, ii; Lysistrata and chorus, 31, ii. They are listed under *garrulous* and *concubine* because they are the probable origin of these New Comedy masks.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix B, 2a.

<sup>4</sup> Appendix B, 5 f.



countryman and in fact the mask of one of the New York terracottas,<sup>1</sup> who must be a rustic because of his skin cloak, is very similar. So, perhaps we should think also of the old countryman Dikaiopolis in the *Acharnians* and Strepsiades in the *Clouds*.

In the *Peace* Trygaios must first be distinguished from his two slaves, who form a pair as Nikias and Demosthenes, Kleon and the Sausage-Seller in the *Knights*, Sosias and Xanthias in the *Wasps*, Xanthias and Aiakos in the *Frogs*. For slaves the pair of masks, leader and wavy-haired leader, seem to have been already available and would suit *Peace*, *Wasps*, and *Frogs*. In the *Knights* Nikias and Demosthenes wear portrait masks, the Paphlagonian wears a slave mask and the Sausage-Seller the Maison mask. To return to the *Peace*, we cannot tell the mask of Hermes; Polemos presumably wears a soldier's mask and Kydoimos the mask of the wavy-haired leader as the soldier's slave. The chorus as sympathisers with Trygaios may wear the same mask as he; so may the maker of sickles (1196). The arms manufacturers must be distinguished from them and could all wear the Maison mask.

In the *Acharnians* the arrangement may be similar. Dikaiopolis would wear the same mask as Trygaios but the Acharnians must be distinguished from him and they may therefore wear the 'rather embittered' wedge-beard mask (also used for a rustic).<sup>2</sup> The Megarian and the Boeotian and the Farmer on the other hand could wear the same mask as Dikaiopolis. We have suggested that it would be convenient if the sycophant, Nikarchos, the servant of Lamachus, and the two messengers all wore the same mask; the mask of the wavy-haired leading slave would suit the last three, and Aristophanes might well give Nikarchos and the sycophant a slave's mask, just as he gives Cleon a slave's mask in the *Knights*.

The ambassador and Theoros belong to the class of younger men, which we must now examine. Both are described as *alazones*, 'braggarts' (134), a term also applied to the pale students in the *Clouds*,<sup>3</sup> but particularly connected with the braggart soldier. The New Comedy masks of the two young

<sup>1</sup> Appendix B, 5a.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix B, 6b.

<sup>3</sup> And much more widely. Cf. Ribbeck, *Alazon*. The doctor of the *Menaechi* is also an *alazon*.

men with wavy hair are anticipated by two bearded masks ; one of them is the soldier's <sup>1</sup> mask and may have been used with difference of colouring for the other forms of *Alazon*. The other is used for a rake,<sup>2</sup> who might well be the long-haired Pheidippides of the *Clouds* (14), the young man of the *Ecclesiazusae* (955), or the debauched son of the *Banqueters*.<sup>3</sup> There seem also to be three masks for more sober characters<sup>4</sup> which may also be regarded as bearded anticipations of New Comedy youths ; here we have little to guide us ; Amphytheos in the *Acharnians*, the chorus in the *Knights*, and the sober youth of the *Banqueters* must have worn such masks, and in the Middle Comedies, both mythological and otherwise, the part of the young hero obviously increased at the expense of the old countryman.

Much is doubtful but the study of masks has its purpose if it helps us to visualise Greek Comedy and defines more clearly the distinction between New Comedy and its ancestors.

<sup>1</sup> Appendix B, 15, ii, A.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix B, 16, ii, A.

<sup>3</sup> Probably also for the Unjust Argument in the *Clouds*.

<sup>4</sup> Appendix B, 10, ii ; 11, ii ; 12, ii.

## APPENDIX A.

ATTRIBUTION OF MALE MASKS IN NEW COMEDY TO HOUSEHOLDS.

<i>Author</i>	<i>Play</i>	<i>Wreath or Coil of Hair</i>	<i>Wavy hair</i>	<i>Curly hair</i>	<i>Characters dealt with in notes</i>
MENANDER	<i>Epitrepontes</i>	2. Charisios (dark) 3. Onesimos	2. Chaires- tratos 3. Syriskos	1. Smikrines	Simias Daos  Karion
"	<i>Perikeiromene</i>	1. Husband of Myrrhine  3. Daos	1. Pataikos 2. Moschion	2. Polemon 3. Sosias	Polemon
"	<i>Heros</i>	1. Laches 2. Gorgias (rustic) 3. Daos 3. Sangarios	2. Pheidias  3. Getas		Sangarios
"	<i>Samia</i>	1. Nikeratos	1. Demeas 2. Moschion 3. Parmenon		(Cook is Maison)
"	<i>Andria</i>	1. Simo 2. Pamphilus (dark ?) 3. Sosias (White- haired) 3. Davus	1. Chremes		Sosias Crito
"	<i>Heautontimor- oumenos</i>	1. Chremes 2. Clitipho (delicate) 3. Syrus	1. Menedemus 2. Clinia		
	<i>Eunuch</i>	2. Chremes (rustic)	1. Simon 2. Chaerea 3. Daos	Thraso	Phaedria
	<i>Adelphi</i>	1. Demea 2. Clitipho (rustic) 3. Geta	1. Micio 2. Aeschinus 3. Syrus	1. Hegio	Geta Aeschinus
"	<i>Aulularia</i>	1. Euclio	1. Megadorus 2. Lyconides 3. Strobilus		Lyconides
"	<i>Bacchides</i>	1. Philoxenus 2. Pistoclerus 3. Lydus (white- haired)	Nicobulus Mnesimachus Chrysalus	Cleomachus	



Author	Play	Wreath or Coil of Hair	Wavy Hair	Curly Hair	Characters dealt with in Notes
MENANDER	<i>Cistellaria</i>	1. Demipho 2. 3. Lampadio	Father of Alcesimarchus <i>Alcesimarchus</i>		
"	<i>Poenulus</i>	2. Agorastocles (? <i>panchrestos</i> ) 3. Milphio	<i>Antamoenides</i>		Hanno Collybiscus Syncerastus Advocati
"	<i>Stichus</i>	2. Pamphilip- pus (? <i>panchrestos</i> ) 3. Stichus (leader) 3. Pinacium (white- haired)	Epignomus  Sangarinus	1. Antipho	Epignomus
"	<i>Georgos</i>	1. Kleainetos 2. <i>Gorgias</i> (rustic) 3.	Youth  Daos		
APOLLO- DORUS	<i>Phormio</i>	1. Demipho 2. Antipho 3. Geta (? white- haired)	Chremes <i>Phaedia</i>		<i>Advocati</i> Phormio Davus
"	<i>Hecyra</i>	1. Laches 2. <i>Pamphilus</i> (? dark) 3. Parmeno (white- haired) 3. Sosia (leader)	Phidippus		
PHILEMON	<i>Mercator</i>	1. Lysimachus 2. <i>Eutychus</i> ( <i>panchrestos</i> ) 3.	Demipho <i>Charinus</i>  Acanthio		Lysimachus Acanthio
"	<i>Mostellaria</i>	1. <i>Theoropides</i> 2. Philolaches ( <i>panchrestos</i> ) 3. Tranio (leader) 3. Grumio (white- haired)	Callidamates	Simo	Theoropides Philolaches Callidamates
"	<i>Trinummus</i>	1. Philto 2. <i>Lysiteles</i> ( <i>panchrestos</i> ) 3.	Charmides <i>Lesbonicus</i>  Stasimus	Megaronides	Callicles Sycophanta

Author	Play	Wreath or Coil of Hair	Wavy Hair	Curly Hair	Characters dealt with in Notes
DIPHILUS	<i>Casina</i>	1. Alcesimus 2. 3. 3.	Lysidamus (Euthynicus) (Slave) <i>Chalinus</i> Olympio (straight- haired)		Slaves
"	<i>Rudens</i>	1. 2. <i>Plesidippus</i> ( <i>panchrestos</i> ) 3. Trachalio 3.	Daemones Sceparnio Gripus (straight- haired)		Charmides Fishermen Gripus
UNKNOWN	<i>Asinaria</i>	1. 2. 3. 3.	<i>Demaenetus</i> Argyrippus Libanus (white- haired) Leonida	Diabolus	Demaenetus Diabolus
"	<i>Captivi</i>	1. Hegio 2. Philopole- mus ( <i>panchrestos</i> ) 2. Tyndarus (dark) 3. Stalagmus (white- haired)	Aristophontes	<i>Philocrates</i>	Tyndarus
"	<i>Curculio</i>	2. <i>Phaedromus</i> (delicate) 3. Palinurus (white- haired)	<i>Theraponti- gonus</i> (soldier)		Curculio Lycus
"	<i>Epidicus</i>	1. Apoecides 2. Chaeribulus ( <i>panchrestos</i> ) 3. 3.	Periphanes <i>Stratippocles</i> Epidicus (white- haired) <i>Thesprio</i>	Soldier	Epidicus Moneylender
"	<i>Miles</i>	1. 2. Pleusicles ( <i>panchrestos</i> ) 3. Palaestrio	<i>Pyrgopolinices</i> Sceledrus	<i>Periplectome- nus</i>	Periplecto- menus Lurcio
"	<i>Pseudolus</i>	1. <i>Simo</i> 2. Calidorus 3. Pseudolus	Callipho	Charinus Simia	Callipho Charinus Simia
"	<i>Truculentus</i>	1. 2. Strabax (rustic) 3. Truculentus	<i>Diniarchus</i> Geta	<i>Harpax</i> <i>Stratophanes</i>	Callicles

## NOTES TO TABLE.

*Epitrepontes*. Karion as cook is Maison. Daos who is unattached can be the straight-haired slave. Simias seems to be the pedagogue of Chairestratos (see *Studies in Menander*, 36); it seems to me possible that we should allow for a wavy-haired pedagogue as well as the normal pedagogue; Pollux says nothing about his hair and, as he is traditional, he may belong to either household. Other instances are Acanthio in the *Mercator* (90), the old slave in the *Casina* (37), Libanus in the *Asinaria*, Epidicus in the *Epidicus*.

*Periketiromene*. Polemon and his batman are clearly distinguished by their clothing as well as their hairdressing; therefore confusion with Moschion and Pataikos could be risked; Moschion is the typical wild young man-about-town and must be the second young man with wavy hair. His mask would help to remind the audience of his ultimate identification as Pataikos' son.

*Heros*. I have argued elsewhere (see *Studies in Menander*, 31) that Sangarios comes back with Laches; either he or Daos must be the white-haired slave and the other the leader. Gorgias is finally recognised as son of Laches.

*Andria*. Sosias is the white-haired slave (or rather freedman). Crito is probably *eikōnikos*. I have suggested (*Studies in Menander*, 78) that Charinus and Byrria in Terence came from Menander's *Perinthia*; they would belong to a third household.

*Eunuch*. There is a real difficulty here; Chremes is fixed as a rustic by Donatus on 507. Chaerea (see above) seems to be the second youth with wavy hair. What is Phaedria? Either the principle breaks (but then no mask suits the hetaira's lover so well as the mask of the second youth with wavy hair) or we have to assume a slightly older version of the second youth with wavy hair for Phaedria (Chairestratos).

*Adelphi*. Geta must be the white-haired slave here, but does not belong either to the household of Demea or to the household of Micio; there is no possibility of confusion. Aeschinus seems to me more like Moschion of the *Samia* than Pamphilus of the *Andria*; he may therefore be the second youth with wavy hair and so reckoned into the household of his adopted father Micio rather than of his real father Demea. Sannio, of course, wears the *leno's* mask.

*Aulularia*. Lyconides' character suits the mask with wavy hair; again the adopted son (as he probably is) wears the hairdressing of the household.

*Poenulus*. Hanno may be *eikōnikos* as already suggested. Collybiscus probably wears the Maison mask (see above). Syncerastus cannot be decided; wavy-haired, straight-haired, and curly are free for him. *Advocati* perhaps wear one of the traditional masks for old men.

*Stichus*. The two brothers are grown up and married, therefore represent different households; only so can their slaves be kept apart.

*Phormio*. The *Advocati* may wear one of the traditional masks for old men. Phormio is flatterer rather than parasite. Davus can be either straight-haired, curly, or Maison, since all have red hair (51); he does not belong to either household.



*Mercator.* The households are fixed by the scatterbrained Charinus who belongs to the same breed as Moschion in the *Samia* and the steadier Eutychus. Charinus must be the second youth with wavy hair (particularly 644 f., 908 f.); Acanthio may be a pedagogue (90); if so, he has white wavy hair, cf. above on *Epitrepontes*. An old man is described (639) as *oblongis malis*; this description would suit the old man with wavy hair better than the leading old man who is 'flat faced', but as both old men went to the harbour (466), we need not necessarily refer it to Lysimachus.

*Mostellaria.* Sonnenschein notes on 1105: 'Theoropides assumes an amiable expression of countenance to persuade Tranio that he has nothing to fear'; this would be possible if Theoropides wears the leading old man's mask which has one raised and one smooth brow. Philolaches' own description of himself suits the *panchrestos* (150), and Callidamates' call for arms fits the second youth with wavy hair (384).

*Trinummus.* If Megaronides' interfering makes it certain that he is the 'curly-haired' Lycomedian, Callicles must wear one of the traditional masks of old men. The sycophanta, who looks like a toadstool in his hat (851) and is younger than Charmides, who addresses him as *adulescens* (871, 968), presumably wears the *Maison* mask.

*Casina.* Chalinus is *armiger* (55, 263, etc.) of Euthynicus, i.e. the bearded (929) slave with wavy hair. This fixes the household of Lysidamus. The old slave who clinches the recognition is then the white-haired slave with wavy hair (cf. above on *Epitrepontes*). Then Olympio may perhaps wear the straight-haired mask which we also assumed for the countryman Daos in the *Epitrepontes*. It is doubtful if either Euthynicus or the old slave appeared in the original.

*Rudens.* Charmides is a foreigner and may be the *eikōnikos*. The fishermen wear the *Maison* mask (cf. above on *Poenulus*). Gripus is a slave of Daemones; Sceparnio (who is *adulescens*, 416, 563) is the leading slave with wavy hair; Gripus is also *adulescens* (1303) and cannot therefore be the white-haired slave; Gripus may therefore be the straight-haired slave as Olympio in the *Casina*.

*Asinaria.* Demaenetus as the mild father under the tyranny of his wife is more likely to be the old man with wavy hair than the first old man. Diabolus' behaviour to his parasite and his rival is more like Thraso in the *Eunuch* than anyone else and he is therefore possibly the first young man with wavy hair.

*Captivi.* Tyndarus wears the mask of the dark youth because he will ultimately be recognised as Hegio's son; Hegio cannot tell which is slave and which is free (270); Aristophontes knows at once Tyndarus' identity. Here the distinction between slave and free is slurred, not as in *Pseudolus* 609 because the lower class freeman and slave are indistinguishable (cf. above on *Maison*) but because Tyndarus has been brought up with Philocrates *bene pudiceque*; the parallel is therefore, e.g., Selenium in the *Cistellaria* (173), who is false-maiden and not hetaira, and will also be recognised.

*Curculio.* Curculio as the modern energetic type of parasite wears the flatterer's mask and when he plays the soldier's freedman wears a *causia* (389) and a shade over one eye (392). Lyco as the foreign banker is *eikōnikos* (see above.)

- Epidicus*. The first scene fixes Thesprio as the leader with wavy hair (16, 29, cf. Chalinus in the *Casina*) and Stratippocles as the second youth with wavy hair. Epidicus must therefore be the white-haired slave with wavy hair (cf. above on *Epitrepontes*). The money-lender is a foreign *eikonikos* (see above).
- Miles*. Dr. Simon (69) suggests that Periplectomenus is a Lycomedian, because he is slightly younger than the normal old man (629) and behaves like a young man; I do not feel certain that he is not the old man with wavy hair, a variant of Demaenetus in the *Asinaria*. If Lurcio is not a Plautine addition, he is perhaps the slave with straight hair.
- Pseudolus*. Callipho is described as mild (435), therefore is the wavy-haired old man. Charinus is no relation to him (730, his father is in Carystus), therefore he is the curly-haired young man, which suits *strenuum* (697); his slave Simia is therefore also curly haired.

## APPENDIX B.

## IDENTIFICATION OF MASKS IN POLLUX' LIST.

Pollux' list has been examined successively by C. Robert, *Die Masken der neueren Attischen Komödie*; by O. Navarre, *R.E.A.*, xvi, 1; by Margarete Bieber in *R.E.*, xiv, s.v. Masken; and by A. K. H. Simon, *Comicae Tabellae*, 1938. I am only concerned to give typical and accessible examples of each type; I have not argued the identifications at length. The identification of Old and Middle Comedy masks is more hazardous as there is no evidence for standard sets and new masks were gradually introduced over a long period; moreover, Pollux' list does not cover all the cases.

1. *First old man (pappos)*.

- i. Not in New Comedy, perhaps superseded by *old man with wavy hair*.
- ii. Old and Middle Comedy: Possible examples: (a) Attic rf. oenochoe, Leningrad, frontal mask, Bieber, *D.*, No. 97; *H.T.*, Fig. 121; Haigh, *Attic Theatre*, Fig. 23; Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb*, Fig. 32; Bethe, *Griechische Dichtung*, pl. viii.
  - (b) Silver cup from Hildesheim, Robert, Fig. 36.
  - (c) Paestan bell krater, B.M., F189; Bieber, *D.*, No. 119; *H.T.*, Fig. 391; Heydemann, *Jb.*, 1886, 271, g; Trendall, *Paestan*, No. 139.
  - (d) Tarentine bell krater, Ruvo; Bieber, *D.*, No. 121; *H.T.*, Fig. 374; Heydemann, *D.*

2. *Second old man (pappos)*.

- i. Not in New Comedy, perhaps superseded by *leading old man*.
- ii. Old and Middle Comedy: Possible examples: (a) Attic rf. oenochoe, Leningrad, profile mask with small crown (Zeus?) (See 1(a) for ref.).
  - (b) Paestan bell krater, Vatican, 121, Zeus; Bieber, *D.*, No. 101; *H.T.*, Fig. 368; Heydemann, 1; Trendall, No. 48.
  - (c) Apulian bell krater, Ruvo Jatta 901, Odysseus; Bieber, *D.*, No. 120; *H.T.*, Fig. 389, Heydemann, A.

- (d) Apulian bell krater, Naples, Kreon ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 113 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 364 ; Heydemann, t.
- (e) Apulian kalyx krater, Bari, old man ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 118 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 393 ; Zahn, *F.R.*, iii, 180, p.
- (f) Campanian oenochoe, B.M., F233, Xanthias ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 125 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 402 ; Heydemann, c.

### 3. Leading old man.

- i. New Comedy : (a) Naples relief ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 130 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 225.
- (b) Terracotta relief ; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 425.
- (c) Painting, Pompeii, Casa del Centenario ; Robert, Fig. 53 ; Haigh, Fig. 27 ; Simon, 39, No. 21.
- (d) Marble relief, Naples, 6619, bottom ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 138 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 259. See further, Simon, 88.
- ii. Not in Middle or Old Comedy.

### 4. Old man with wavy hair.

- i. New Comedy : (a) Menander relief, Lateran ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 129 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 223.
- (b) Naples relief (cf. above, 3(a)).
- (c) Terracotta relief (cf. above, 3(b)).
- (d) Marble relief, Vatican, top left. Bieber, *D.*, No. 139 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 258. See further, Simon, 92.
- ii. Not in Old or Middle Comedy.

### 5. First Hermonian.

- i. Not in New Comedy, possibly superseded by *Rustic*.
- ii. Old and Middle Comedy. Possible examples : (a) Attic terracotta, New York, Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 125 ; Webster, *Greek Terracottas*, pl. 30 ; here, Fig. 4.
- (b) Attic terracotta, New York, rustic ; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 134 ; cf. *Olynthus*, vii, 308.
- (c) Apulian bell krater, Leningrad, rustic ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 115 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 383 ; Heydemann, r ; Pfuhl, *MuZ.*, Fig. 804.
- (d) Paestan kalyx krater, Berlin 3044, Charinos ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 116 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 373 ; Heydemann, P ; Trendall, No. 31.
- (e) Apulian bell krater, Berlin, 3045, Priam ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 111 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 361 ; Heydemann, Q.
- (f) Campanian kalyx krater, Glasgow ; Heydemann, i ; *J.H.S.*, vii, pl. 62, 1 ; Pace, *Sicilia Antica*, ii, Figs. 338-340.

### 6. Wedge beard.

- i. Not in New Comedy, possibly superseded by *Rustic*.
- ii. Old and Middle Comedy. (a) Boeotian (?) terracotta, Berlin 6823 ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 79 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 86 ; Körte, *Jb.* 1893, 78, Nos. 11-14.
- (b) Terracotta, Louvre, rustic, Alinari, 23739/2.
- (c) Apulian bell krater, Heidelberg, U8, old man ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 117 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 392 ; Zahn, q.



7. *Lycomedian*.

- i. New Comedy. (a) Fresco in Pompeii; *N.Sc.*, 1929, 408, Fig. 31; Simon, 6, No. 4.  
 (b) Terracotta, Naples; Robert, Fig. 101.  
 (c) Terracotta, Pompeii; Simon, pl. x, i. Bottom left.
- ii. Old and Middle Comedy. Perhaps Attic terracotta, New York; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 133.

8. *Leno*.

- i. New Comedy: Terracotta from Myrina, Louvre, 199; Bieber, *D.*, No. 146; Robert, Fig. 33; cf. British Museum, C520.
- ii. Middle Comedy. Perhaps Gnathia bell krater, Vienna; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 394; Bulle, *Festschrift für J. Loeb*, Fig. 24; Heydemann, V; but little before the New Comedy period; cf. *C.Q.*, xlii, 20, n. 3.

9. *Second Hermonian*.

- i. New Comedy. Mask on silver cup from Bari, *R.M.*, 1918, pl. vii, 3a; Simon, 83, n. 11.

10. *Panchrestos*.

- i. New Comedy. (a) Dioscurides mosaic, Youth with tambourine. Bieber, *D.*, No. 135; *H.T.*, Fig. 239; Simon, 14, No. 8; Pickard-Cambridge, *Theatre*, Fig. 85; Pfuhl, *MuZ.*, Fig. 684; Rostovtzeff, *Orient and Greece*, pl. lxxxvii.  
 (b) Painting, Naples; Bieber, *D.*, No. 132; *H.T.*, Fig. 238; Robert, Fig. 72; Simon, 2, no. 1.  
 (c) Terracotta from Sabouroff collection, Simon, pl. v, 3.
- ii. Old and Middle Comedy. The young lead is bearded; perhaps an anticipation of the *panchrestos* may be seen in the following: (a) Terracotta from Boeotia, B.M., C239; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 90; Körte, *op. cit.*, No. 10; Webster, *Greek Terracottas*, pl. xxvi.  
 (b) Apulian bell krater, Ruvo Jatta, 901, Elpenor; see above, 2c.  
 (c) Apulian skyphos, B.M., F124; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 388 Heydemann, d.  
 (d) Campanian skyphos, Milan, Hermes, Bieber, *D.*, No. 108; *H.T.*, Fig. 360; Zahn, e; Beazley, *J.H.S.*, lxiii, 107.

11. *Dark youth*.

- i. New Comedy. Perhaps Menander relief (see above, 4(a)).
- ii. Middle and Old Comedy. Perhaps we may see a bearded anticipation in the following: (a) Attic oenochoe, Leningrad, mask on extreme right (see above, 1(a)).  
 (b) Terracotta, Boston, 01.8013; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 89.  
 (c) Apulian bell krater, Heidelberg, U8, young man (see above, 6(c)).

12. *Curly youth*.

- i. New Comedy. Terracotta disc from Selymbria, Berlin, 6623; Bieber, *D.*, No. 67, pl. 65, 2 (wrongly interpreted as tragic).

- ii. Middle and Old Comedy. Perhaps anticipated in a bearded form :  
 (a) Terracotta from Boeotia, Berlin, 6892 ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 84 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 95 ; Körte, *op. cit.*, No. 34.  
 (b) Terracotta, B.M., C238 ; Körte, No. 47 (cf. Antiphanes, fr. 16K with Plautus, *Mercator*, 851).

13. *Delicate boy.*

- i. New Comedy. (a) Dioscurides mosaic, Naples. Youth with castanets. See above, 10(a).  
 (b) Marble relief, Naples, 6619 ; top left. See above, 3(d).  
 (c) Marble relief, Vatican, top right. See above, 4(d).  
 (d) Painting, Pompeii, Casa del Centenario ; Robert, Fig. 61 ; Simon, 33, No. 16.  
 (e) Marble mask, B.M., 2440 ; Simon, pl. vi, 1 ; here, Fig. 1.

14. *Rustic.*

- i. New Comedy. Terracotta, Athens ; *A.J.A.*, 1903, 333, No. 62, pl. xi, 6 ; Simon, 63, n. 103.  
 ii. Old and Middle Comedy. A. Bearded : see above, Nos. 5 and 6. B. Beardless : Paestan bell krater, Vatican, 121, Hermes ; see above, 2(b).

15. *First youth with wavy hair.*

- i. New Comedy. (a) Terracotta from Delos, Athens. Bieber, *D.*, No. 57 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 207.  
 (b) Terracotta, Athens ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 56 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 205 (cf. Rostovtzeff, *Hellenistic World*, pl. xxii, 3).  
 (c) Terracotta, Heidelberg ; Neutsch, *Welt der Griechen*, 1948, 61, Fig. 29. Soldiers of New Comedy must be beardless, as they modelled themselves on Alexander (cf. particularly Pottier, *Myrina*, Nos. 321-322). Professor Rumpf first suggested to me the possibility that (a) and (b) are the soldier ; (b) wears civilian clothes (cf. *Perikēiromene*, 58) ; (c) a wreath (cf. *Perikēiromene*, 421).  
 ii. Middle and Old Comedy. A. Bearded mask with raised eyebrows and hooked nose.  
 (a) Terracotta, Louvre, 298 ; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 117 (cf. Copenhagen, Breitenstein, No. 328).  
 (b) Paestan kalys krater, Milan, Ajax ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 112 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 367 ; Zahn, g ; Trendall, No. 32 ; Pfuhl, *MuZ.*, Fig. 803.  
 B. Note that a coarsened variant of this mask is used for Herakles, e.g.  
 (a) Attic oenochoe, Louvre, L9 ; Beazley, *A.R.V.*, 848/22 ; Pfuhl, *MuZ.*, Fig. 572 ; Bieber, *D.*, Fig. 125.  
 (b) Attic terracotta, Pnyx ; *Hesperia, Supplement*, 7, 147, No. 65 (cf. B.M., C80, here, Fig. 7 ; Bieber, *H.T.*, Figs. 110, 111, 124 ; Webster, *Greek Terracottas*, pl. xxix).  
 (c) Campanian skyphos, Milan ; see above, 10(d).  
 C. Beardless ; Apulian bell krater, Berlin, 3045, Neoptolemos ; see above, 5(e).

16. *Second youth with wavy hair.*

- i. New Comedy: (a) Naples relief; see above, 3(a).  
(b) Terracotta, Copenhagen, Nat. Mus.; Breitenstein, No. 720.
- ii. Middle and Old Comedy: A. Bearded: (a) Terracotta, Munich; Bieber, *D.*, No. 75; *H.T.*, Fig. 116 (cf. B.M., 1930/12-15-1).  
(b) Gnathia oenochoe, Tarentum; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 395; *C.V.*, Italy, 743/3;  
B. Beardless: Paestan kalyx krater, Berlin, 3044, Kotilos; see above, 5(d),  
see also above, p. 115, n. 2.

17. *Flatterer.*

- i. New Comedy. (a) Marble relief, Vatican, bottom left. See above, 4(d)  
(b) Terracotta, University College, London, Gayer-Anderson Coll, 90;  
here, Fig. 2.
- ii. Middle Comedy. Paestan kalyx krater, Berlin, 3044, Gymnilos. See  
above, 5(d).

18. *Parasite.*

- i. New Comedy. Terracotta, Athens; Bieber, *D.*, No. 144; *H.T.*, Fig. 249; Robert, Figs. 51-52; Simon 44, n. 1.
- ii. Middle Comedy. Apulian bell krater, Berlin, 3047; Bieber, *D.*, No. 122;  
*H.T.*, Fig. 375; Heydemann, S.

19. *Eikōnikos.*

- i. New Comedy. Terracotta, Athens, N.M. 5045. Bieber, *D.*, No. 141;  
*H.T.*, Fig. 230; Robert, Fig. 98; Simon, 63.

20. *Sicilian.*

- i. New Comedy. Terracotta, Berlin, 7395; Bieber, *D.*, No. 145; *H.T.*,  
Fig. 250.
- ii. Middle Comedy. Perhaps Attic terracotta, New York; Bieber, *H.T.*,  
Fig. 132 (cf. Olynthus, iv. no. 404).

21. *Old Slave.*

- i. New Comedy. Painting, Pompeii, Casa del Centenario; see above, 3(c).
- ii. Middle and Old Comedy. (a) Terracotta, Oxford, *Ashmolean Report*,  
1939, vol. v, 3: here, Fig. 5.  
(b) Apulian bell krater, B.M., F151; Bieber, *D.*, No. 109, *H.T.*,  
Fig. 362; Heydemann, X.  
(c) Gnathia krater, B.M., F548, *C.V.* pl. 38/3; Bulle, *op. cit.*,  
Fig. 11a.

22. *Leading Slave.*

- i. New Comedy. (a) Marble mask, Athens, N.M., 3373; Bieber, Fig. 266.  
(b) Painting, Pompeii; Robert, Fig. 69; Haigh, Fig. 25.
- ii. Middle and Old Comedy. (a) Attic terracotta, New York; Bieber,  
*H.T.* Figs. 126-128; Webster, *Greek terracottas*, pls. xxxi-xxxiii.  
(b) Attic terracotta, B.M., C90; *Catalogue*, pl. xxxiv; Körte, *op. cit.*,  
No. 60.  
(c) Paestan kalyx krater, Berlin, 3044, Karion. See above, 5(d).  
(d) Apulian kalyx krater, B.M., F269, Daidalos; Bieber, *D.*, No. 104;  
*H.T.*, Fig. 370; Heydemann, a.  
(e) Hanley, City of Stoke-on-Trent Art Gallery; here, Fig. 6.



23. *Straight-haired slave.*

- i. New Comedy. Terracotta from Myrina, Constantinople ; Robert, Fig. 34.
- ii. Middle Comedy. Perhaps Apulian bell krater, B.M., F151, Xanthias ; see above, 21(b).

24. *Curly-haired slave.*

- i. New Comedy. Terracotta from Myrina, Athens, N.M., 5048 ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 150 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 236 ; Robert, Figs. 22-23.
- ii. Middle Comedy. Possibly Apulian bell krater, Leningrad ; see above, 5(c).

25. *Maison.*

- i. New Comedy. (a) Terracotta from Megara, Berlin, 7042. Bieber, *D.*, No. 86 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 98 ; Robert, Fig. 24 ; Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb*, etc., Fig. 42.  
(b) Terracotta from Myrina, Berlin, 7953 ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 143 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 248 ; Robert, Fig. 26 ; Pickard-Cambridge, *op. cit.*, Fig. 44.
- ii. Middle and Old Comedy. (a) Terracotta from Thespiae, Berlin, herdsman ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 81 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 88 ; Körte, *op. cit.*, 30 f.  
(b) Apulian bell krater, Leningrad, right-hand slave ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 123 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 378 ; Zahn, s.

26. *Tettix.*

- i. New Comedy. Marble mask from Pergamon, Berlin ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 166 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 273 ; Robert, Fig. 28.
- ii. Middle Comedy. Apulian Askos, Ruvo, Jatta ; Silen, Robert, Fig. 128 ; Bieber, *Jb.*, 1917, 53, Fig. 25 ; Heydemann, C.

27. *Wavy-haired leader.*

- i. New Comedy. (a) Naples relief ; see above, 3(a).  
(b) Marble relief, Vatican, bottom right ; see above, 4(d).  
(c) Terracotta, B.M., C827 ; here, Fig. 8.  
(d) Painting, Bieber, *D.*, No. 134 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 237 ; Robert, Figs. 7-9 ; Simon, 28, No. 14. He cannot be the soldier himself because he has the slave mouth.
- ii. Middle and Old Comedy. (a) Attic oenochoe, Leningrad, held by standing naked boy ; see above, 1(a).  
(b) Attic oenochoe, Louvre, L9 ; cf. above, 15, ii, B, a.  
(c) Attic terracotta, New York ; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 135 ; cf. *Hesperia*, Supplement 7, 147, No. 64.

28. *Wolfish old woman.*

- i. New Comedy. Not recognised.
- ii. Middle and Old Comedy. Possibly, if the long nose is the mark of the mask,  
(a) Apulian bell krater, Berlin, 3047 ; see above, 18.  
(b) Apulian bell krater, Heidelberg, U6 ; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 398.

29. *Fat old woman.*

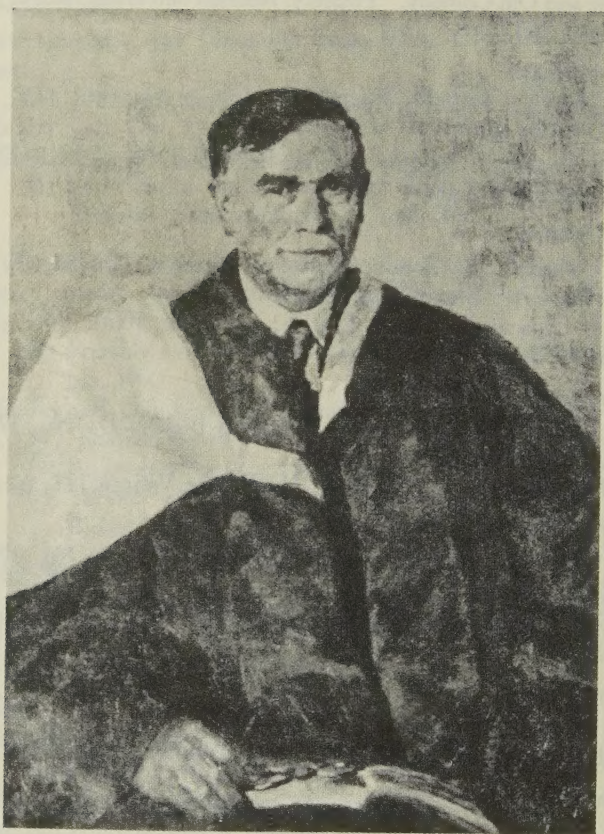
- i. New Comedy. (a) Terracotta, Berlin ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 171, *H.T.*, Fig. 275 ; Robert, Fig. 82 ; Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb*, Fig. 27.

- (b) Dioscurides mosaic, old woman ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 136 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 242 ; Simon, 20, No. 10 ; Pickard-Cambridge, *Theatre*, Fig. 86 ; Pfuhl, *MuZ.*, Fig. 685.
- (c) Painting, Pompeii, Casa del Centenario ; Robert, Fig. 88 ; Simon, 37, No. 19.
- ii. Middle Comedy. (a) Terracotta, Vienna ; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 107.
- (b) Campanian kalyx krater, Lentini ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 108 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 358 ; Heydemann, *M* ; Beazley, *J.H.S.* lxiii, 107.
- 30. *Little housekeeper.*
  - i. New Comedy. (a) Terracotta mask, B.M., C749 ; *Catalogue*, Fig. 57 ; here, Fig. 3.
  - (b) Terracotta masks from Pompeii, Pompeii ; Simon, pl. x, 1.
  - ii. Middle and Old Comedy. (a) Attic terracotta, New York, nurse ; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 122 (cf. B.M., C5).
  - (b) Early South Italian vase, New York ; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 381 ; Trendall, *Frühitaliotische*, B75, pl. 28b.
- 31. *Garrulous woman.*
  - i. New Comedy. (a) Terracotta, Berlin, 7401 ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 156 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 244.
  - (b) Possibly a variant with raised brows, Copenhagen, Breitenstein, No. 599.
  - ii. Middle and Old Comedy. Possibly (a) Attic bell krater, Heidelberg, B. 134 ; Kraiker, pl. 48.
  - (b) Attic oenochoe, Louvre, 9, Nike : see above, 15 B, (a).
  - (c) Variant with raised brows : Apulian bell krater, Bari, Leda ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 110 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 365 ; Zahn, o.
- 32. *Curly-haired wife.*
  - i. New Comedy. (a) Marble mask, Rome Terme ; Simon, pl. xii, 1.
  - ii. Middle Comedy. Possible anticipation : Campanian kalyx krater, Glasgow ; see above, 5(f).
- 33. *Maiden.*
  - i. New Comedy. (a) Marble relief, B.M., 2448.
  - (b) Painting ; Robert, Fig. 69 ; Haigh, Fig. 25.
  - ii. Middle Comedy. Possibly, Paestan bell krater, Vatican, 120 ; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 401 ; Trendall, No. 113.
- 34. *First false-maiden.*
  - i. New Comedy. Menander relief ; see above, 4(a).
  - ii. Middle Comedy. Possibly, Gnathia situla, B.M., F586 ; *C.V.*, pl. 38/4.
- 35. *Second false-maiden.*
  - i. New Comedy. Dioscurides mosaic, central figure ; see above, 29(b).
  - ii. Middle comedy. (a) Campanian kalyx krater, Lentini ; see above, 29(b).
  - (b) Terracotta, New York ; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 123 ; Webster, *Greek Terracottas*, pl. xxviii ; (cf. Olynthus, iv, 364 ; B.M., 1907-5-18-7).



36. *Greying garrulous.*  
 i. New Comedy. Terracotta, Berlin, 436. Bieber, *D.*, No. 173 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 282 ; Robert, Fig. 99.  
 ii. Middle Comedy. Possibly, terracotta, New York ; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 130.
37. *Concubine.*  
 i. New Comedy. Unrecognised, unless Gnathia oenochoe, Michigan, *C.V.*, pl. 29/7.  
 ii. Middle and Old Comedy. Possibly, Apulian bell krater, Ruvo, Jatta, 901 ; see above, 2(c).
38. *Full-grown hetaira.*  
 i. New Comedy. Painting, Palermo ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 131 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 243 ; Simon, 9, No. 6.  
 ii. Middle Comedy. Possibly, Apulian bell krater, Naples, 118322 ; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 385 ; Zahn, 1.
39. *Blooming hetaira.*  
 i. New Comedy. (a) Mosaic, Capitoline Museum ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 137 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 270 ; Stuart Jones, pl. 35.  
 (b) Dioscurides mosaic, flautist ; see above, 10(a).  
 ii. Middle Comedy. No instance.
40. *Golden hetaira.*  
 i. New Comedy. Marble mask, Vatican ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 177 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 284 ; Robert, pl. i.  
 ii. Middle Comedy. Possibly, Paestan bell krater, Vatican, 121 ; see above 2(b).
41. *Wimpled hetaira.*  
 i. New Comedy. Marble mask, Naples ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 176 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 286 ; Simon, 113, n. 68.  
 ii. Middle Comedy. Gnathia bell krater, B.M., F544 ; *C.V.*, Great Britain, pl. 40/15.
42. *Little torch.*  
 i. New Comedy. Painting, Naples : see above, 10(b).  
 ii. Middle Comedy. Apulian bell krater, Leningrad : see above, 25(b).
43. *Wife's maid.*  
 i. New Comedy. Marble mask, Naples ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 175 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 281 ; Robert, Fig. 63 ; Simon, 109, 119.  
 ii. Middle Comedy : not known.
44. *Hetaira's maid.*  
 i. New Comedy. Terracotta, Athens, 5032 ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 157 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 246 ; Robert, Figs. 64-65 ; Simon, 111, 116.  
 ii. Middle Comedy, Paestan bell krater, Copenhagen, 257B ; *C.V.*, pl. 243 ; Trendall, *Paestan*, No. 129.





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*From a painting by Gertrude M. Coventry (Mrs. Robertson)*